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MEMOIRS OF FIELD MARSHAL

SIR HENRY WYLIE NORMAN

G.C.B., G.C.M.G., C.I.E.

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OF

FIELD MARSHAL

SIR HENRY WYLIE NORMAN

G.C.B., G.C.M.G., C.I.E.

BY

SIR WILLIAM LEE-WARNER, K.C.S.I.

AUTHOR OF

'THE LIFE OF THE MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE, K.G.'

WITH PORTRAITS AND MAPS

LONDON

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1908

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TO

THE GALLANT SURVIVORS

OF

THE SIEGE OF DELHI

WHOSE NAMES ARE SET FORTH IN THE APPENDIX

THESE MEMOIRS

ARE RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY THE AUTHOR

2066642

PREFACE

THE question whether a man's biography is worth the writing depends upon the answer to be given on the following points: 'Does the study of his life conduce to our knowledge of history?' 'Does it teach us how to live?' Trusting that my readers will not ascribe to the materials left behind him by the late Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wylie Norman any such inadequacy of portraiture as is due to my treatment of the subject, I am bold enough to think that none will deny his claim to the study of his fellow-countrymen.

No one, dead or living, ever possessed so thorough a knowledge of the long-drawn agony of the siege of Delhi as the short-statured Lieutenant, gifted with a marvellous memory, who, owing to the death of Colonel Chester and then to the serious wound received by Colonel Neville Chamberlain, acted as Adjutant-General of the Delhi Field Force almost throughout the siege. No one who survived that peril took part in so many campaigns and engagements elsewhere until the Mutiny was quelled as Henry Norman. Earl Roberts has recently spoken of his later services rendered in civil employ-

ment, attributing to him the reorganisation of the Indian Army, and the construction of the foundations upon which its efficiency has been maintained. Nor were his triumphs confined to fields of battle or military schemes in India. In Jamaica he introduced a new constitution ; in Queensland he changed the direction of a stormy wind of discontent into one of strong affection for himself and of good will towards his Sovereign. If it may be said of the life of such a man, ' non est historia sed particula historiae,' it is at least a section cut out of the solid foundation of the nineteenth century and not merely a scrap from the surface formed by the drift of camp gossip and hearsay report. And when it is remembered that no war correspondent was present in the besieged camp of the besiegers of Delhi, Norman's recollections and letters must be a most valuable contribution to the history of his times.

W. L-W.

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SIR HENRY NORMAN

CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE—1826-1848

Norman's title to fame—His birth, parentage, and education—Voyage to Calcutta—Warlike enthusiasm in India—Appointment to the Bengal Army—Joined 1st Regiment N.I. at Dinapore in 1844—Transfer to 31st N.I. at Almora in 1845—Adjutant of left wing of regiment at Bareilly—Joined Lahore garrison under Colin Campbell—Sickness, and change of air at Simla—Appointed adjutant of 31st N.I., and ordered on active service owing to the second Sikh war, 1848—Admiration for Sir Hugh Gough—History of services of the 31st N.I. before and after the Mutiny.

THE reader who would follow the career of Field-Marshal Sir Henry Norman from cradle to grave must not expect to have his imagination kindled by the fiery zeal of a Nicholson, or the dominating personality of a Marquis of Dalhousie, or of a John Lawrence. Norman was neither a man of extraordinary genius nor a 'born king,' as the citizens of Calcutta styled their great proconsul, Lord Dalhousie. Nor again did he draw to himself the hearts of men with the tenderness and love which Henry Lawrence inspired. No burning controversy surrounds his name, fanning into flame the party conflicts and jealousies of a past generation which current literature will not allow to die out. His career was very remarkable rather than brilliant.

He was endowed with a combination of many of the qualities which led the great men mentioned above to eminence. He possessed the nerve of Nicholson, the industry of Dalhousie, the high purpose of John Lawrence, and a gentleness which won the hearts of men if it did not succeed in attracting the full measure of love given to Henry Lawrence. But all his qualities and capacities were tempered by modesty. His claim upon the attention of his fellow-countrymen rests upon his achievement of the highest honours gained by the force of moral character without those advantages of wealth, interest, and social position by which others mount to exalted places. A brief statement of his public career will serve here to illustrate the variety as well as the eminence of the positions which he held.

The son of an enterprising but not too fortunate a merchant, with no powerful relatives to advance his interests, without any special equipment as regards a liberal education—for he had not even the opportunities of study which Addiscombe College [1] afforded—Norman, at the age of seventeen, was appointed on March 1, 1844, an officer of infantry on the Bengal Establishment of the East India Company, and almost immediately began to attract the notice of his superiors and the affection of his comrades. A passionate desire to serve the Crown either in the navy, for which he was in many ways well adapted, or in the army, for which it was feared that his slight build might prove a disqualification, a taste for reading and acquiring knowledge which compensated for the lack of scholarly training, a

[1] The writer of the article in the *Times* of October 27, 1904, was mistaken in asserting that Sir Henry Norman was a cadet in the E.I. Company's college at Addiscombe.

remarkable memory, a winning modesty and cheerful courage that earned for him the nickname of 'the Smiler' on the exposed and shot-riddled ridge of Delhi, an unflinching devotion to duty, and a strong belief in spiritual power—these were the moral qualities which overcame all obstacles, and in the long run gave him assured claim to the highest offices in the gift of the Crown. Although his strictly military career was interrupted at the age of thirty-six by transfer to the Secretariat of the Government of India, he had already seen more active service than often falls to the lot of those who are entrusted with the command of an army. The Sikh war, the Santal campaign, unbroken employment throughout the Mutiny in several posts of danger and honour, and the soldier's reward of a wound in action, had given him every title to military distinction. It was not surprising, therefore, that in 1885 his name was put forward in connection with the supreme command of Her Majesty's forces in India, and there is some reason to believe that if events had not removed Mr. Gladstone from office in that year, Henry Norman would have been the choice then made. Be that as it may, work was found for him in other spheres. He was sent to Jamaica as Governor in 1883, and thence transferred in 1889 to the same position in Queensland. While serving in Australia he received the crowning honour of his life, by his nomination in 1893 to be Viceroy and Governor-General of India. That he preferred, for reasons which will appear in the course of this narrative, to forego the appointment, does not detract from the evidence which the offer affords of the favour of his Sovereign and of the public confidence which he had inspired. Nor did

his reluctance to take the tide of fortune at the flood leave his career in the shallows. Appointed Governor of Chelsea Hospital and a Field-Marshal, in 1902, he died as he would have preferred to live, a soldier amidst the military surroundings dearest to him.

1826.—Born in the parish of St. Luke's in London on December 2, 1826, he hardly even saw his father, James Norman, till landing in India in 1842. Perhaps had he at the outset of life been more subject to parental control and influence, he would never have served his country as a soldier, for his father on religious and other grounds objected to a military profession. But Henry was very much left to himself, and from boyish days his heart instinctively turned to the navy or the army as his fondest ambition. If a father's precept had no part in the dream of the child, heredity had something to say to it, as is evident from the following account written by the son :

My father was a sailor, and when only twenty-two years of age went as supercargo of a ship, eventually settling in Havana as a merchant. It was usual in those days for merchants to send a vessel on a sort of cruise, practically in charge of a supercargo who traded on his employer's account, and when he had a full cargo came home. I have read a diary of my father's of a voyage from Antwerp to Haiti and other West India islands, and of a journey across Haiti, in 1816, which resulted in a profitable interview with the Emperor, from whom he purchased a cargo of coffee. He had many adventures when trading, and once his vessel was in the hands of pirates, when he narrowly escaped with his life, and showed so much adroitness that the pirates left his ship without discovering a quantity of specie hidden on board. Two of his brothers perished in the Navy as lieutenants, and he himself to the last day of his life retained a deep affection for the sea, a sentiment which I have inherited.

The boy grew up not only without the advantage of his father's care, but even saw little of his mother, to whom he was devoted. She was a daughter of Henry Wylie, descended from a family settled in Dumfries, by his wife, Charlotte Merry, of Limerick. Mrs. James Norman followed her husband to Cuba and other places in the West Indies, only revisiting her native country at rare intervals. Meanwhile her son was left in charge of her parents, spending his holidays sometimes at Bridlington Quay, in Yorkshire, and at other times in Ireland. His education, if it deserves the name, was entrusted to three private schools, with a finish to it imparted at Ipswich by the Reverend E. Harston, Vicar of St. Stephen's. Fortunately, however, the boy, who was chastised at school for disinclination to study, was passionately fond of reading by himself. So the formation of his character on lines of his own choice proceeded without the interference of affectionate but misguided relatives, or the opposition of unsympathetic masters. Everything went to fan the flame of his cherished ambitions, the books he read, the sights he saw in the metropolis, and the scenes he witnessed in his visits to friends.

I read [he writes] during my early years every minute I could find to do so, but my favourite subjects, even when I was very young, were naval and military history, voyages, and biographies. I was also devoted to Scott's poems, and though anxious to be a soldier had a great liking for James's naval history and Marryat's and Chamier's novels.

Stirring scenes of every kind had a great charm for the boy and imprinted themselves on his imagination with a vivid and unfading force. He witnessed the Coronation processions of King William the Fourth and Queen Adelaide, and later on the

festivities at the accession of Queen Victoria. Of the Review on the latter occasion he writes :

> The force paraded was splendid, and I rejoiced to see with my own eyes the Great Duke, Marshal Soult, Lord Lynedoch and others well known to me—from my reading. On one occasion I used a holiday to go to Apsley House and see the Waterloo heroes alight, on June 18, for their annual banquet.

He was a spectator at the burning of the Houses of Parliament and of a fire at the Tower of London. In the Tower the sight which most interested him was the effect of the flames upon the gun-barrels in the armoury ; and the presence of forty Greenwich pensioners who had taken part in the battle of the Nile was the absorbing incident of a meeting in the city in aid of the fund for Nelson's monument. During his visits to Ireland he treasured up the recollection of several similar experiences. The embarkation of the 43rd Regiment at Queenstown for Canada, the parades at Limerick, and the faction fights at Roscrea, in Tipperary, were the subjects of many an anecdote to be recounted to his school friends. Even then he had the gift of remembering names and of associating them with historic events of which he had read, and his letters show the impression made on him by General Sir John Douglas, who commanded the troops at Limerick, and by Sir J. C. Chatterton, Colonel of the 4th Dragoon Guards, who lived to carry the Duke of Wellington's standard at his funeral in 1852.

1842.—On June 2, 1842, his mother, having spent a year or two at home, left England for Calcutta, to which his father had now moved from Cuba, and although Henry was not sixteen years of age, he accompanied her on the *Ellenborough*, a

frigate which weighed anchor from Spithead under the command of Captain Close. With the long voyage round the Cape to Madras before him, Norman's characteristic desire to be up and doing quickly showed itself in his asking leave of the Captain to enter upon the duties of midshipman; and as soon as he had learned the process of taking observations to determine the longitude and latitude, the volunteer apprentice was given the middle watch day and night. It was perhaps fortunate for him that he found regular occupation, for, as he writes:

> We had ten ladies, twenty-four gentlemen, mostly civil and military officers, and eight cadets. Thus thrown together for three and a half months, and touching nowhere till we reached Madras, it can be understood that there were lovemakings and quarrels and the usual incidents of a long voyage in a passenger ship.

Happily they escaped the duels that marred the harmony of Lady Nugent's passage to India,[1] and the more serious risks of navigation up the river Hugli, though of the latter by a narrow margin.

> Off the Sandheads we were tossing about on a dark night looking out for a pilot, with a high sea running, when during my watch I saw a dark mass without a light rising on the top of a high wave on our beam, and before there was time to do more than shout she crashed into us abaft of our main chains, and then drifted aft, smashing us in various ways and carrying away her own jibboom. After she had drifted clear there seemed to be a magnetic attraction, and it looked as if we should again be locked together, as there was little breeze to enable us to separate although the seas were high. No material damage was, however, done.

The vessel in collision, the *Ricardo*, was less fortunate, for she struck on the dreaded James and

[1] See *Journal of a Voyage and Residence in India*, by Lady Nugent. Vol. I. p. 64. London. 1839.

Mary sands, and some of the survivors were brought on board the *Ellenborough*. We shall see hereafter that at a later stage in his life he had a still narrower escape from shipwreck on a voyage to Iceland in 1883.

On leaving his ship Norman regretted that he could not join the mercantile marine, but this mood soon gave way to other feelings when, on reaching Calcutta, he found himself in an atmosphere of war. He followed with eager interest the accounts given in the daily Press of the advance of Pollock and Nott from Jalalabad and Kandahar, the rescue of the prisoners at Kabul, and the impressive review of the troops at Ferozepore. The following year brought fresh news of exciting events; with the victory won by Sir Charles Napier at Miani over the Mirs of Sind on February 17, and that of Sir Hugh Gough over the Gwalior troops at Maharajpur on December 29, 1843. The ovations of the Governor-General, like those of Pericles, fanned the public enthusiasm, and quickened in Norman's heart the desire to serve his country as a soldier.

> I longed [he writes] from hour to hour to join the army and to take part in those exploits which the Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, always eulogised in such glowing terms. To add to my enthusiasm a part of the force employed in the China expedition returned to Calcutta, and Colonel Powney, of the Bengal Artillery, gave a grand entertainment in Fort William with splendid illuminations, among which were the sentences 'Peace in Asia,' 'Pollock, Nott and Sale,' 'Gough, Pottinger and Parker.'

It was a long and dreary wait of eighteen months before Norman's aspirations were realised. During this period he had no regular occupation, but he studied Hindustani, borrowed books from his father's

friends bearing upon military subjects, such as 'Wellington's Despatches,' Bourrienne's 'Napoleon,' and Napier's 'Peninsular War,' and constantly attended the parades of the 10th Foot quartered at Fort William, with occasional excursions to Barrackpore, where he watched the drills of the native regiments.

1844.—At last a Director, Mr. Charles Mills, who had never even seen Norman or his parents, was induced, on the recommendation of Mrs. Crosbie, to give him a nomination, which, although dated February 14, 1844, did not reach Calcutta till April of that year.[1] The preliminaries were soon completed. A bare inquiry into the nominee's educational qualifications was satisfied by the answer that he had attended school, and if the medical examiners were a little more critical, they satisfied their consciences with the injunction, 'You are thin and must fill out.'[2] That this advice was sound may be inferred from the fact that his weight at the time was under seven and a half stone. All that then remained was for the new cadet to choose his regiment until a vacancy should occur. The reasons which determined his

[1] It was not until 1860, when Henry Norman had covered himself with glory, that he was introduced to his patron, and then learnt that the same discreet Director had also nominated Sir Henry Durand in 1827. His appointment as a cadet was dated March 1, 1844, and as an ensign, April 26.

[2] Norman never complied with this direction, and it was a subject of good-natured banter in his family circle. His aunt, Mrs. Wylie, writing to his mother in 1857 on receipt of the news of the massacre at Cawnpore, referred to it in these words: 'I am sure you would feel for poor Mrs. Battine; her poor Charlie was in one of those boats hunted down and killed. How stricken she has been! Kate Boyes and her husband, too, and how many that we have known. What a blessing that so far all your dear ones have been spared! I tell dear Mac that with dear Henry he is so active and slight that he seems to escape all the balls in the most wonderful manner—another advantage in being thin!'

choice of the 1st Bengal N.I. throw light upon his character.

In those days appointments were often made to the service in excess of regimental establishments, and the junior ensigns or cornets were attached to regiments for duty until finally posted to vacancies. These temporary appointments were usually made to regiments at no great distance from the presidency towns, and young officers were allowed to choose their regiments. I chose the 1st Regiment, because it was the senior native corps at the largest garrison to which young officers were usually sent, and because it was the only garrison within the distance for which travelling expenses were allowed at which there was a Queen's regiment. I thought I should learn my duties best at a large station at which European and Indian troops were brigaded together.

1844.—On June 2 Norman, not yet eighteen years of age, left Calcutta for Dinapore to join his regiment, travelling by palanquin as far as Rajmahal, where he intended to catch the river steamer. Between Berhampore and Rajmahal he expected to find a change of bearers on the morning of the 5th, but as they had not arrived, his former bearers decamped, leaving the palanquin and its inmate by the side of the road. The heat was very great, and oppressed by it Norman fell asleep, hoping that in course of time a relay of bearers would appear. From this slumber he was awakened by a friendly voice in English, and found himself addressed by a planter named Renshaw, who took him off to his bungalow in the neighbourhood and thence despatched him with fresh bearers after sunset to Rajmahal. Eleven years later Norman returned to this spot to find that Renshaw and his son had been cruelly murdered by the Santals, and it fell to

him to command a detachment of troops and scour the country round for three months.

In due course the steamer arrived, bringing with it another young officer, Lieutenant R. A. Yule, who was on his way to join the 16th Lancers. Each of the two young officers was greatly attracted by the other, an attraction that was to ripen into a warm friendship, though Yule was fated to meet with an early death, being killed in the mutiny at Delhi while leading his regiment,[1] then the 9th Lancers. For the present they parted on the arrival of the steamer at Dinapore on June 13, where Norman was welcomed by Major Rowcroft, commanding the 1st N.I., and his other brother officers. General Cartwright commanded the division made up of H.M.'s 62nd Regiment, under Colonel Thomas Reed,[2] a Waterloo veteran, a field battery drawn by bullocks, and four regiments of native infantry. The 62nd was presently replaced by the 39th, commanded by Colonel Wright, C.B., and its arrival did much to bring life to the station.

1845.—Between learning his duties and taking part in social amusements, Norman found the time pass pleasantly enough till March 1845, when, a vacancy occurring in the 31st N.I., he was posted to that regiment—a transfer that was to affect his whole future career. For he thus gained the opportunity of seeing active service, and escaped the terrible doom which, entirely unsuspected by all, hung over the corps he was leaving. On June 5, 1857, the 1st Regiment was stationed at Cawnpore,

[1] See page 82 below.

[2] Afterwards appointed temporarily Commander-in-Chief of Bengal, June 5, 1857, on the death of General Anson, and then, on the death of General Barnard, July 5, assuming command of the force at Delhi.

when it followed the lead of the 2nd Bengal Light Infantry, and in the events that ensued the Colonel and ten other officers serving with it were massacred.

A journey of eight days by palanquin and a walk of three more up the slopes of the Himalayas brought Norman on March 25 to Almora, the capital of Kumaon, and the headquarters of his new regiment. Here he was again fortunate in making friends. Lieutenant Ramsay, afterwards Sir Henry, the 'King of Kumaon,' as he came to be known, was one of the civil officers stationed there, while his regiment was commanded by Colonel J. S. Weston, 'a fine old gentleman of thirty-six years' service.'

> From him and all the officers I received much kindness. I had again to undergo an examination in drill, notwithstanding the certificate of proficiency which I brought from the 1st Regiment. The duty was light, and we were often able to obtain leave for two or three weeks for trips about the hills; but whatever duty had to be performed was expected to be punctually and thoroughly carried out, and I have always felt that I owe much to the excellent habit of punctual and ready attention to duty which became, as it were, part of oneself after a short service with the 31st Regiment.

Shortly after his reaching Almora the bronze stars granted for the battle of Maharajpur were received by the regiment for distribution to the officers and men who were entitled to them, and Norman used to tell the following story in connection with the event. At the officers' mess, on the evening before the distribution, one of the captains, who had been in command of a detachment on escort duty with the tents and baggage of the Commander-in-Chief in the rear of the army, was chaffed by his comrades, who presumed that he would never wear the star as he was

far in the rear. The Captain replied: 'Of course I shall; I will be bound to say that I was in as great a fright as any of you fellows.' In telling this reminiscence Norman used to observe:

> I think this was a very neat answer, the more so as every one who has ever had the misfortune to be in the rear during an action knows that the rumours of disaster, the panics, stampedes, and uncertainties are far more disquieting to the minds of most people than the fire to which the actual combatants are exposed.

Almora was an attractive station, and among other visitors to the place was Count Grüben, A.D.C. to Prince Waldemar of Prussia, who took special interest in the 31st and was a frequent guest at its mess. Norman made the most of the facilities offered for leave, and either alone or with a friend made excursions to the Pindri and Milum glaciers, and paid flying visits to the Government tea plantation at Haval Bagh, where tea fetched at public auction eight shillings a pound, and to other places of interest in Kumaon. But the even tenour of his life was disturbed at the close of the year by the news that the Sikh army had crossed the Sutlej and invaded British territory. Two regiments were at once moved up to the front from Bareilly, and the 31st was ordered to send a wing to take their place.

1846.—The Colonel of the 31st chose Norman as adjutant of the wing sent off under Major Corfield, which reached Bareilly on January 6, 1846. 'I thus,' wrote Norman with natural elation, 'within three weeks of being nineteen found myself in a responsible position, of which I felt not a little proud. Our wing consisted of seven European officers and 495 native soldiers.'

Rumours of disasters and defeat found willing

ears in the city of Bareilly, and spread themselves among the native population long before the official post arrived.

The news of a small disaster reached me through my Munshi, and I was distinctly told that a particular officer who had been stationed at Bareilly was wounded. This proved to be the case, and there is little doubt that in those days natives received notice of important events before the Government did.

Norman had always cultivated the most friendly relations not only with his native officers, but with his Munshi. He frequently went out walks with the latter, and at all times throughout his Indian service was trusted and beloved by his native subordinates. He was thus kept informed of the earnest expectation entertained by the descendants of the old Rohilla chiefs, who had fallen upon evil days under British rule, that the foreign raj would be shaken. The mishap that befell the troops at Budihal marching under Sir Harry Smith to the relief of a small force at Ludhiana, when part of his baggage and some of his wounded fell into the hands of the Sikhs, was magnified into a serious defeat, and affected the temper of the inhabitants at other stations besides Bareilly. At Dinapore two officers of Norman's old regiment gave timely information of a plot to murder the Europeans during divine service, and the ringleaders were seized and tried. At Bareilly nightly meetings were held in the city to discuss the question of a rising, and Norman learnt that some men of the 19th Regiment had attended them. Fortunately, however, the brilliant success gained by Sir Harry Smith at Aliwal on January 28, 1846, and the victory of Sobraon won on February 10

following, convinced the ill-disposed that the time for mutiny had not arrived.

The Sikhs had been beaten back across the Sutlej, leaving in our hands 220 guns captured since their first advance, and for the moment the war was at an end. But the British had had 6,300 killed and wounded, of whom 4,000 were Europeans, in a campaign of less than three months, and it was notorious that the enemy were not finally defeated. Norman, therefore, under no illusions as to the permanency of peace, was delighted when orders came for his regiment to march to Lahore, as a part of the British force lent to the Sikh Government for the purpose of maintaining order and carrying out the treaty obligations.

1847.—On its way the regiment lent support to the Commissioner of the cis-Sutlej states, Major Mackeson, in deposing and punishing the Raja of Nabha, who had behaved badly during the recent campaign, and so did not arrive at its quarters at Anarkalli outside Lahore until February 9. Here it formed part of the movable force, consisting of eighteen field guns, one cavalry and three native infantry regiments, well supplied with transport and ready to move at the shortest notice. Sir John Littler commanded the whole division, with his headquarters at Jullundur, and Colonel Colin Campbell, of the 98th Foot, was in command of the Lahore Garrison. Thus commenced his lifelong friendship with Lord Clyde, who showed his affection for Norman by leaving him a legacy of £500 on his death. Everything at Lahore tended to create the suspicion that outward appearances of quiet and public tranquillity were deceptive. While Lord Hardinge was explaining away to his masters in

Leadenhall Street and Cannon Row the notes[1] of caution struck by Henry Lawrence, and assuring the Directors that attempts at revolt were highly improbable, the resistance offered by the Sikh authorities at Kangra and in Kashmir to the execution of the treaty obligations in 1846, and the persistent intrigues of the young Maharaja's mother in 1847, were being discussed at the messes in a very different tone. There confidence reigned not in peace but in the renewal of hostilities. Norman himself lived in the midst of precautions which were anything but suggestive of belief in roseate dreams.

All the gates of Lahore [he wrote] were held by considerable guards of our troops under British officers, the movable brigade was kept on the alert, and had large in-lying picquets as if in the field. Explicit instructions were drawn out so that on the occasion of an alarm every corps knew where to go and what it had to do. Conspiracies were often talked about, and when public entertainments were given it was on more than one occasion thought necessary to require half of the officers of each regiment to remain with their men. I spent quite a fourth of my time with a guard of a hundred of our men at the Roshni gate of the city. Brigadier Campbell always made me breakfast and lunch with him when on guard, and often employed me to copy out confidential letters. In this way I became well acquainted with him, and learned thoroughly to admire the kind-hearted, but quick-tempered, old soldier. To me it was delightful to hear his stories of the old wars, and listen to his doctrine of the duty the officer owed to his men. No word I heard him speak on military matters has ever in the long course of subsequent years seemed to me inappropriate. He entertained in short those notions of military duty which are unchangeable, whatever alterations may take place in systems of organisation or tactics. I have read with pain sneers against officers of the grand 'old school' on the part of officers of the present day, who have

[1] Letter, dated April 29, 1847, to the Government of India.

had very little experience of prolonged and hard campaigns. May we have more men like him when our next great struggle comes! men alive to every improvement of their times, and who won the love of their men by devoting their lives to their care, who never delegated to non-commissioned officers what it is the duty of officers to perform, and who thought little of decorations, honours, rewards, or puffing in the newspapers, but deemed it their greatest privilege to show devotion to duty and regard for those under them. During this year, too, I made the acquaintance of the three brothers Lawrence, Henry, George, and John, also Arthur Herbert of the Civil Service, and of Major Macgregor, Henry Lumsden, Herbert Edwardes, and Louis Bowring, Reynell Taylor, and John Nicholson, all names to be well known in future years, while that of Macgregor is honourably connected with the defence of Jalalabad in 1842.

Under influences such as these Henry Norman, keen to learn and quick to profit by his opportunities, prepared himself for the active service which he knew to be imminent. The year 1847, however, passed, as he recorded, without realising his anticipation—'the year is ended and we have not had war.'

1848.—The new year was even more disappointing in its early promise. On January 1, 1848, the 31st Regiment left Lahore for Ferozepore, a retrograde march across the Sutlej, which 'diminished our prospect of active service.' There was, indeed, one consolation in the change of climate which it involved. Norman had had three severe attacks of fever while quartered at Lahore, and both he and a great number of officers and men were suffering from a kind of scurvy. On arriving at Ferozepore he was placed on the sick list, the regimental surgeon pronouncing his illness to be small-pox. During the attack he was nursed with the most tender care by one of his own Sepoys, who was devoted to him.

As soon as he was well enough to move, he was sent off to Simla for six months. He had been promoted on December 25, 1847, to the rank of Lieutenant with command of the Light Company of his regiment; and still believing in the prospect of active service before him, he deeply regretted this untimely interruption of his duties. He had only taken a few walks at Simla and commenced to drink in its bracing air when the news of the murder of Vans Agnew and Anderson at Multan reached the hill station. With this intelligence came also the gratifying news that he was to be recommended for the adjutantship of his regiment, now under orders to prepare for an early move.

The effect upon his health was instantaneous. Shaking off all thoughts of illness, he at once descended to the hot plains, rejoining the 31st on May 11. Then followed an unexpected pause. Correspondence was passing between Lord Dalhousie in Calcutta, Lord Gough at Simla, and Currie at Lahore, and the advantages or disadvantages of a cold-weather campaign were being discussed. The 31st daily expected orders to march to the siege of Multan, but presently another regiment was told off to take its place in the column intended for that operation. The explanation given for this change of plans was that the 31st had recently seen service in Afghanistan and Gwalior, and it was right that other less fortunate regiments should have their turn. 'We were inconsolable,' wrote Norman, 'but all we could do was to submit and trust for better fortune later on.' Affairs, however, did not prosper at Multan, where Major Napier[1] was forced

[1] Afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala and Commander-in-Chief of India.

in September to admit that the British troops assembled there were unequal to the task of taking the citadel. Later on, therefore, the 31st received fresh orders to move, and on October 20 it marched out on its way to Multan as part of General Eckford's brigade. But meanwhile Lahore was threatened, and the regiment was recalled to Ferozepore, whence it returned to Lahore, being met by Brigadier Campbell, who was now in command during the absence of General Whish at Multan. Events henceforth moved more satisfactorily, and on November 5 orders were received for the despatch of the brigade to join General Cureton on the banks of the Chenab near Ramnagar, where Raja Sher Sing had established his headquarters.

Here at last Norman felt that his cherished hopes were about to be realised, and he, as well as all ranks of his regiment, looked forward with confidence to taking the field. Following the example set by its Adjutant, the 31st at once banished sickness from its ranks.

> The hospital emptied itself, and our excellent old surgeon could only find three sick men out of the whole corps to transfer to the station hospital. Except these three and fifteen old men left in charge of our mess house and baggage, every soldier came into the field, and owing to a stoppage of recruiting in the previous year there was not a single untrained man.

In this spirit fifteen European officers beside the surgeon, and 860 native soldiers of all ranks, crossed the Ravi on November 6, bearing the standard of the 31st, all glad to serve under Sir Hugh Gough and all proud of their regiment.

Norman himself had caught the infection of Gough's magnetic personality and enthusiasm. The

Commander-in-Chief's moral qualities and physical courage, his care for his men, his chivalry, and deep religious feeling, all appealed to Henry Norman, and if devotion to duty had not been motive sufficient to carry the young adjutant of the 31st through fire and blood at the will of Sir Hugh Gough, his reverential attachment to the old soldier would have been equally effectual.

From some fragments of a diary kept in early years the following notes are extracted as throwing light upon his feelings towards the Commander-in-Chief.

February 8, 1843.—This morning, while taking my usual walk at Calcutta, I had the honour of seeing Sir Hugh Gough for the first time. He had come round from China in the frigate *Endymion*, and had just landed when I saw him. From the ghat, accompanied by his A.D.C., Lieutenant French, he walked straight to the encampment of the 'Cameronians' on the glacis of Fort William. Directly the men recognised him they turned out and enthusiastically cheered. After addressing a few words to them and shaking hands with several of the officers who came up, he walked to where the Quarter-Master (Goodfellow) was delivering out the meat and bread. Sir Hugh shook hands with him, and after examining the provisions he walked off to Government House.

Later on in the same year Norman again saw the famous old soldier on his arrival from Madras to assume the duties of Commander-in-Chief, and one can well imagine that the simplicity of the ceremonial of those days in no wise detracted from the pleasure of the spectators. 'He landed at the ghat, and followed by his own staff, the staff at the Presidency, and the civilians, walked to the Fort between two lines of troops composed of H.M.'s 10th Foot and the reserve guards with arms presented.'

The next occasion of their meeting, on September 10, 1843, impressed itself on Norman's mind owing to an incident which is here related :

I had the honour of seeing Sir Hugh Gough present new colours to H.M.'s 10th Foot in Fort William. On this occasion his horse, a black Arab, in crossing the pavement on the side of the Parade fell and threw him. He rose and was again in the saddle quicker than many a young man would be. His speech was a very good one. On this occasion also I saw for the first time that soldier-like officer, Major-General (Sir Henry G.) Smith, then Adjutant-General of the Queen's troops.

It can be well imagined that, treasuring up these reminiscences, Henry Norman was delighted at the prospect of seeing real war under the command of Sir Hugh Gough, who reached Ferozepore on the day following that on which the Lahore brigade received its marching orders. By the time that Gough joined the army near Ramnagar on November 21, Norman found his regiment associated with the 2nd European Light Infantry and the 70th Native Infantry in Godby's brigade as part of Sir Walter Gilbert's Division.

In the next chapter an account will be given of the distinguished part taken by the 31st in the several engagements which followed. Here it may be of interest to examine the record of its services as narrated by Norman, whose pride in his regiment was fully justified.

The corps was raised as the 2nd Battalion of the 15th Regiment at Behar in 1799, and during Lord Lake's campaigns, 1802-05, took part at the siege and capture of the Forts Sasni, Bijaygarh, and Cutchoora, at the battles of Delhi and Laswari, at the relief of Delhi when attacked by Holkar at the battle of Deig, where it sustained heavy

losses, the capture of Agra, and the first siege of Bharatpur. It was in the final assault on Bharatpur that it lost 180 men killed and wounded out of 400 men who marched to the assault. For its services at the battle of Delhi it received in 1808 a third colour from the hands of Lord Minto. In 1810 it gave 114 volunteers for service in the expedition to Java, although service beyond the sea was most distasteful to Hindustani soldiers and full of hardships in ill-found vessels. Two years later it supplied 64 more volunteers for Java. In 1812 the regiment was engaged in several skirmishes with the Burmese on the Chi Hagong frontier. Two years later, on November 24, two companies with some of the Chumparan Light Infantry and Irregular Horse drove the Gurkhas from that cantonment, and a Sepoy, Ramsahai Sing, saved the life of an officer and was promoted to the rank of havildar in general orders. Later on a detachment of three companies was surprised at night on the edge of a forest by Gurkhas and lost 105 men killed and wounded including a European officer. On that occasion two Sepoys were promoted.

In 1817 the regiment was present at the siege of Hattrass, and in 1818 at the capture of the Asirgarh fort, where it lost 86 men killed and wounded. In 1825–26 it was employed at the siege of Bharatpur, losing one European officer and ten men killed, and another European officer and 19 men wounded. On that occasion a Sepoy saved the life of Captain Heptinstall, who was severely wounded. In 1827 the regiment, now known as the 31st, was employed against the Bhils, and in 1831, and again in 1836, against the Kols. In September, 1838, it marched from Allahabad to join the army of the Indus, destined for service in Afghanistan, and after being employed to coerce the Amirs, it proceeded to Shikarpur, whence in April it was ordered to Quetta. The intense heat caused much suffering, and the commanding officer, Colonel Thompson, died on the march. On arrival at Quetta the Sepoys died from the cold of the winter. At the storming of Kalat it lost two European officers and 23 men killed and wounded, including the gallant Subadar Ramsahai Sing, who had been promoted in 1814 as stated above. He was the first man to enter Kalat,

and was waving his sword to encourage the troops when he was shot dead. When it returned to India in 1840, the regiment had marched 2,783 miles in the previous nineteen months. Notwithstanding all it had been through, the regiment received no decoration, as the medal was only given to the troops present at the capture of Ghazni.

In 1843 the 31st Regiment formed the escort to Sir Hugh Gough in his march to Gwalior, and was present in the reserve brigade at Maharajpur.

In all these services, extending over 45 years, the regiment fighting for British rule sustained a loss of 8 European officers and 199 native soldiers killed in action, and 6 European officers and 521 natives of all ranks wounded. Between 1844 and 1859 it sustained further losses in the field which brought up the total for the sixty years of its existence to 12 European officers and 260 native soldiers killed, and 14 European officers and 670 men wounded.

In 1879 it joined the portion of the army employed in Afghanistan in the Kuram Valley, and the mortality increased from 12 deaths in 1878 to 159 deaths in 1879, owing to diseases arising from uncongenial climate. The regiment was practically rendered useless, and on its arrival at Cawnpore in 1880 it lost 45 more men, showing how disease clung to it.

Such were the services of the regiment with which Henry Norman entered upon his first experiences of actual warfare. At the close of the mutiny it was made Light Infantry and advanced on the roll of the Bengal army from the 31st to the 2nd, owing to the mutiny or mutinous tendencies of twenty-nine regiments senior to it. In 1876 Lord Napier of Magdala selected it as the Bengal regiment authorised to wear on its colours and appointments the Royal Cypher within the Garter, in honour of the visit of the Prince of Wales to India, with the title of the 2nd Bengal Queen's Own Light Infantry Regiment, a title that has since been changed owing to the abolition of the Presidency commands. That

Norman's appreciation of his own regiment was not the exaggerated picture of a partial friend, may be inferred from the fact that on three occasions the regiment has received its colours from the hands of Governor-Generals and Royalty. Lord Minto, as we have seen, gave it in 1808 the honorary colour granted by the Company for the battle of Delhi ; in the name of the Queen-Empress Victoria the Marquis of Ripon presented the Queen's Own Regiment, ' faithful among the faithless, courageous and enduring,' with the colours in 1878 ; and finally in 1906 the regiment, now known as the 2nd Queen's Own Rajput Light Infantry, received new colours at the hand of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. On that occasion His Royal Highness reminded it that its career from the earliest days had been one continuous record of loyalty and gallantry, that it was honoured in having the King-Emperor as its Colonel-in-Chief, and in the title ' Queen's Own ' conferred upon it in commemoration of King Edward the Seventh's visit to India in 1875. Its steadfast loyalty in the trying days of the mutiny, and its splendid services in the storming of Aligarh, at the siege of Bharatpur, and in no less than fourteen battles or campaigns, were a guarantee, he felt sure, that it would keep the oath taken upon its colours and add fresh lustre to the noble traditions inherited from the past.

CHAPTER II

SERVICE IN THE FIELD, 1848-1857

Lessons of the Sikh war—Ramnagar and the lost opportunity at Sadulapur—Chilianwala—Norman's criticisms on the battle—Brigade Major at Peshawar—The Kohat expedition—The Momand and other frontier affairs—Appointed Assistant Adjutant-General to Peshawar division—Marriage in 1853 with Miss Davidson—General Roberts' opinion of Norman—Rejoins his regiment during Santal war—Returns to Peshawar on the divisional staff—Soon afterwards retraces his steps to Calcutta on the headquarters staff as Assistant Adjutant-General—Tour with the Commander-in-Chief—Goes to Simla—His review of the causes of the Mutiny.

1848.—Whether or not the conduct of the 2nd Sikh War was open to the harsh criticisms to which that generous and fiery-hearted old soldier, Sir Hugh Gough, was later on subjected, there can be no doubt that the Sikhs, superior in numbers, met their enemy bravely, and the campaign proved profitable for instruction to all officers who like Norman took a serious view of their profession. The 31st Regiment witnessed from the rear guard the cavalry engagement—for it was more than a reconnaissance in force—at Ramnagar, chafed at the mistake which prevented General Thackwell from following up his success at Sadulapur, fought its own battle amid the utter confusion and helplessness of Chilianwala, and contributed largely to the casualties as well as the crowning success at Gujrat. No regiment in the army was more fortunate in the share of responsible duties that fell to it. When the

Sikh force was at last scattered, Norman joined in the pursuit across the Jhelum, witnessed the dramatic scene at Rawalpindi where 18,000 Sikhs surrendered to a small force under Sir Walter Gilbert, and finally took part in the hot but unavailing pursuit of the son of the Amir Dost Muhammad, who, fleeing with his Afghan horse, retreated ignominiously through the Khaibar passes into his own country.

The affair at Ramnagar, which cost the British the valuable life of General Cureton, sacrificed in the vain attempts to correct the mistake made by Colonel Havelock when leading the 14th Light Dragoons, left a vacancy in the command of the cavalry division to which Thackwell was transferred. The latter's infantry division passed into the hands of Colin Campbell, while Norman's regiment continued to be part of Godby's brigade in Gilbert's division, the other brigade being under Mountain. After the battle of Ramnagar the Sikhs concentrated across the Chenab, and the British Commander-in-Chief divided his force, sending Thackwell to cross the river by a ford some distance higher up. Thackwell took with his cavalry two European and five native infantry regiments, including the 31st, and either missing the ford which he was intended to cross, or finding it impracticable, lost valuable time in proceeding higher up to Wazirabad, where John Nicholson, with his usual foresight, had collected boats and ensured a safe crossing. Once on the right bank of the river, Thackwell hastened on December 2 to recover the ground he had lost, and marched south towards the Sikh army until he reached a ford by which reinforcements, meanwhile despatched under Godby, were to cross to his aid. On the following day the Sikh

Commander-in-Chief, Sher Sing, arrived, and without opposition took up a strong position at Sadulapur in the face of the British forces, upon which he opened a cannonade. Thackwell contented himself with silencing the Sikh artillery and acting on the defensive. In vain did those about him press him to order an attack before the light should fail ; in vain was it pointed out that the Sikhs, alarmed at the approach of the British from Ramnagar, and so placed between two fires, would give way. Thackwell felt bound by his instructions to remain passive, and the opportunity was lost. Norman shared the general feeling that someone had blundered, and shortly before his death, in a conversation with the writer of these pages, declared himself still of the opinion that a blow struck then might have proved decisive. The fates, however, willed otherwise, and the labour spent upon night marches and the crossing of the river seemed at the time to be wasted energy. As adjutant of his regiment, Norman had enjoyed less opportunity for rest than his brother officers, and the traces of his recent illness cannot have been wholly obliterated by the excitement of war. His mature opinion, therefore, that the attack might have been delivered on the afternoon of December 3 is worth recording in view of the justification usually pleaded for Thackwell's decision : namely, that his troops were too fatigued to go into action without a rest. Norman was not the only one to think differently. Sir Hugh Gough, at any rate, shared the disappointment expressed at the mess of the 31st Regiment, for he wrote in a private letter : ' I placed the ball at Thackwell's feet, but he would not kick it.' [1]

[1] *The Life and Campaigns of Lord Gough.* By Robert S. Rait, Vol. II. p. 200.

1849.—If the 31st were thus spared any serious effort, Chilianwala and Gujrat made full amends for the disappointments of Ramnagar and Sadulapur. Sher Sing having been allowed to extricate himself from the position in which Sir Hugh Gough had designed to place him on the banks of the Chenab, took himself off to those of the Jhelum, and there entrenched his army in full confidence that the British would soon follow him up. But the year ran out before their preparations were completed. At length, on January 12, 1849, the British army, numbering about 15,000 men, reached Dinghi, and Norman sat up till midnight awaiting the orders which, it was reported, were about to issue.

Eventually [he writes] we broke up from mess without receiving them, after a parting, solemn toast that we might all meet again on the following night. As adjutant I had to remain until the general orders were issued, and they did not come till a little before midnight. I then had to see the commanding officer, and to issue and circulate the regimental orders necessary to give effect to the general orders prescribing the hour of march and the formation of the army on the morrow.

At daylight the 31st Regiment was under arms, and the position assigned to it was such as to allow an excellent opportunity of watching some of the leading incidents of a battle which has given rise to so much controversy. As the army moved forward, writes Norman,

the two brigades of Gilbert's division formed the right wing of the infantry, and two of the brigades of Colin Campbell's division constituted the left wing. These four brigades moved each in a line of brigade column with 300 yards between brigades, and Penny's weak brigade of Campbell's division was in the rear of the centre. A horse field-battery,

under Captain Dawes, was with Gilbert's division, and one horse field-battery with half a second battery with Campbell. Our brigade under General Godby was the right brigade of the right division, the 2nd European regiment [1] being on the right, the 70th N.I. in the centre, and my regiment on the left. On the right of the brigade moved Pope's cavalry brigade, consisting of the 3rd Light Dragoons with the 5th and 8th Light Cavalry. With each of these cavalry brigades were three troops of horse artillery, and in the centre of the army, between Gilbert's and Campbell's divisions, were the heavy guns under Horsford, consisting of six eighteen-pounders, and four 8-inch howitzers manned by European foot artillery. Hearsey commanded the escort protecting the tents and baggage packed and ready to be moved when needed.

After marching through four miles of country more or less covered with bush jungle, the army halted, and the officers of the 31st, then at breakfast, received news that the enemy were shifting ground, without, however, giving any indication of retreating. On this, one of the captains of the regiment cheered his companions with the prophecy, 'Well, boys, there will be wigs on the green to-day.' Shortly afterwards, however, events seemed to belie his prediction. For the jungle grew thicker as the troops advanced, and when the skirmishing parties of the brigade to which the 31st belonged had soon after 1 P.M. cleared a way, upon an outpost of Sikhs opening fire at short range, a halt was again ordered, and quartermasters of corps were summoned to the quartermaster-general to lay out the ground for a camp. Norman then learnt that the attack was deferred till the next

[1] The 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers was a new corps, under Major Steel, just added to the Company's army; it afterwards became H.M.'s 104th Bengal Fusiliers, now known as the 2nd Royal Munster Fusiliers.

day. The officers were discussing this unwelcome news when Dr. McCosh climbed up a tree, and, using his telescope, reported an immense array of red-coated Sikhs advancing upon them. Almost as he spoke the enemy's guns broke the silence, and the doctor's services were required for a regimental water-carrier of the 31st, whose leg had been carried away by a cannon shot. In an instant the infantry were ordered to deploy into line, and Norman, galloping up to the point where the right of his regiment would rest, found himself next the tallest man in the army, who was performing a similar duty for the left of his regimental line. The contrast struck them both, and gave a touch of humour to the grim reality of war. As soon as the formation was completed, the infantry were ordered to lie down, while the field battery of the division took up a suitable position and vigorously replied to the Sikh fire, exploding one of their ammunition wagons. This task being performed, Godby ordered an advance of his brigade, and the infantry, passing through the guns of the field battery, and being rejoined by its skirmishers, advanced by files of half companies so as to enable the corps to pass the frequent clumps of bush jungle, which not only concealed the enemy from view, but precluded movement in line. On this Norman observes :

> The formation proved most inconvenient. In our rapid advance it gradually happened that two or more subdivisions in doubling round bushes got together, and created gaps elsewhere, and all the efforts of the company officers and of the two mounted officers, Lieutenant Hopper and myself, failed to maintain the proper distances, and to keep the heads of subdivisions in a line with each other.

While Norman was thus busy, John Nicholson

rode by on his way to the Commander-in-Chief, who was in the centre of the army, and seeing a native officer struck down by a cannon shot close to his brother Charles, who was leading the first company of his regiment, called out to him, 'Go it, Charlie!'[1] and then, turning to Norman, observed that they would be among the Sikhs in a minute or two. A few seconds later Nicholson saw the cavalry brigade on the right flying from the enemy to the rear, and hastened to convey the news to Sir Hugh Gough. Meanwhile the 31st had been ordered to form line to the front without halting, and this, writes Norman, was 'the last order received from our own brigadier or divisional general during the day.' The fickle fortunes of war were never more conspicuous than in the course of the battle which followed. So far as the 31st N.I. were concerned, these proceedings were divided into three parts. At first they carried out their orders and advanced to find themselves detached from the rest of their own brigade on the right, and with H.M.'s 29th Foot on their left isolated from the two other regiments of Mountain's brigade: namely, the 30th and the 56th Regiments of Native Infantry. In this desperate strait the Sikhs were on the point of converting confusion into defeat, when Campbell restored the fortunes of the British. But at the next or third stage of the battle the opportunity of winning the day was lost, and a night of misery awaited the disappointed army.

Norman may be left to give his own account of the first of these stages of the fighting:

We pushed on [he writes] and no enemy opposed us.

[1] Charles Nicholson made a name for himself in the siege of Delhi, but owing to the results of his wounds did not long survive his brother after the suppression of the Mutiny.

We came on four or five guns just abandoned, and one which had its horses still harnessed was in our possession, three of our Sepoys leading the horses in rear of our line. There were half-a-dozen dead or wounded men by these guns, and one of the latter called out that he was a brother of one of our Sepoys whom he named, begging them to save him. He had often been in our lines at Lahore and was known to our men, who lifted him into the gun carriage and brought him with us for medical treatment. It was difficult to see what was going on, but the jungle becoming less dense, we found that there were many Sikhs in our rear, and the best plan seemed to be to conform to the advance of the 29th Foot, the right regiment of the brigade on our left. It turned out that on the failure of the cavalry on our right the two right regiments of our brigade and the field battery had turned about and engaged the Sikhs, who, following up the cavalry, were pouring into their rear. Owing to the jungle we did not perceive this, and as no order was sent to us we had continued our advance. The Sikhs in our rear, besides coming in from the right, may have been swelled by others who had penetrated the centre of the British line, where five of our regiments, as we afterwards learnt, had been broken, and about this time we were joined by remnants of the 30th and 56th N.I. Mountain's brigade had advanced, as it appeared, in the teeth of a heavy fire, and had suffered severely, the 56th having at the close of the day eight European officers killed or wounded with 314 casualties in the native ranks, while in the 30th the proportion was 11 officers to 275 men. These two regiments were for a time quite broken.

But there was still a chance of restoring the fortunes of the day. H.M.'s 29th Foot had never lost touch with the 31st N.I., and Mountain, observing that the men of the former regiment were falling fast, sent his brigade-major to direct Norman's regiment to join their British comrades by changing front to their left and sweeping along the enemy's position. Before this movement could be executed,

a large body of the Sikhs attacked the 29th, and nearly broke it; but meanwhile unexpected help was at hand from the left. Hoggan's brigade of Campbell's division had suffered heavily on the left of Mountain's brigade. It consisted of the Queen's 61st Foot with the 36th and 46th N.I. Regiments on its right and left respectively. At this period of the battle the Sikhs were on the point of capturing the colours of the 36th, when Campbell himself led two companies of the 61st to the rescue. In doing so he received a sword cut on the arm, while a bullet which struck him was only diverted by a pistol which one of his staff had put into his pocket. But the impetuosity of his troops scattered the enemy, and sweeping down the line Campbell observed the straits in which Mountain's two regiments were placed. On the other hand, it became plain to the Sikhs that they were about to be attacked on two sides, and they fled in disorder. The 31st thus escaped the severe handling that seemed in store for them, and H.M.'s 29th Foot, with whom they were advancing, were extricated from further difficulties, but at the cost of 251 killed and wounded.

The battle now entered upon its third stage, which ended in disappointment. Campbell had at his disposal a mixed but coherent force of five regiments, made up of Hoggan's brigade, one regiment of Mountain's brigade, and the 31st belonging to Godby's. Unfortunately the nine field battery guns belonging to the left wing of the infantry, which had ceased fire on the advance of Campbell's brigade, did not remain to be of service when his immediate object had been secured. Their officers subsequently explained that a staff officer, whose name they did not know, had ridden up and desired them to join

Thackwell's division.[1] There was nothing for it, therefore, except to go on without them. Norman's narrative proceeds :

We now resumed our original front facing the Jhelum, but beyond the five infantry regiments we could see no portion of our force, and we had a very indistinct idea of what had occurred. We had not long to wait before Sir Hugh Gough rode up with his staff and escort of Light Cavalry and was received with loud cheers. A little of the truth oozed out, and after some discussion between the Commander-in-Chief and General Campbell and the staff, we were ordered to remain where we were to cover the removal of the guns and wounded until dark, and then to fall back on the mound where the rest of the army were assembling. It was now late in the evening, and, not long after the Commander-in-Chief left us, first the brigade of General Campbell's division moved off, then the 29th Foot, and lastly my regiment. We marched through the jungle guided by the blaze of fires burning at the mound. As we moved on through the jungle a gun was fired from the heights of Rasul, followed by twenty more, and the Sepoys, who had been counting them, burst out with the indignant exclamation : 'The scoundrels are firing a royal salute !' At the mound there was considerable confusion, but we rejoined our brigade, and finding no troops on our right we threw back our right wing. We had no provisions, baggage, or tents, so the men just piled arms and laid down. We lay down behind them and passed a miserable, cold, hungry night, not made more pleasant by the groans of some poor wounded officers and men in doolies behind us. There was some rain, and altogether things did not look cheerful in the

[1] On this incident Norman wrote : 'What officers who have seen war have not heard this reason assigned over and over again for false movements, no doubt with truth, and how rarely is the staff officer identified ! It has always appeared to me that there ought to be a rule in our army that in the field, when an officer in command of troops is ordered to execute any movement by a staff officer with whom he is unacquainted, and who does not deliver a written order, he should inquire the name and position of the officer giving the order, and record it in his own note-book.'

morning, but we fell in at an early hour to receive the Commander-in-Chief who rode down the line. We thought this was preparatory to an advance on the enemy, and some of the native officers said that they trusted we should go on at once, urging that the Sikhs would certainly retreat, as they could not have recovered from the confusion and losses of the previous day. They added that, if given time, the Sikhs would rally and entrench themselves and give us infinite trouble. No doubt our regiment, which had only lost three men killed, with Captain Dunmore and 14 men wounded, had not received the shaking that had fallen on several other corps, and the men were in excellent spirits; but it must be recollected that several other corps had also escaped severe loss, and certainly 7,000 or 8,000 unshaken men could have been used for the advance with forty or fifty guns, and we seemed to have a good assurance of success. The Commander-in-Chief thought differently, and no doubt felt that some of the army were demoralised by failure; but he had certainly several regiments and batteries in perfect order, and from all that has been heard since, it seems clear that if he had advanced that morning, the Sikhs would have fled in confusion across the Jhelum, which, indeed; many had crossed the previous night. No better authority on this point could be found than Major James Abbott, who was then in Hazara, and in a position to receive full information. He wrote: 'Notwithstanding all the errors marking this indecisive battle, the Sikhs were to my knowledge so beaten that they had no thought of further resistance, and if followed up next day by half our army would have been driven pell-mell into the river.' From what I saw of the panic [1] flight of a part of the Sikhs to the river during the advance, and from the convictions in the minds of our men as to the certain success of an advance on the morning of January 14, I have no doubt that Major Abbott was right, and that a golden opportunity was thrown away.

The Commander-in-Chief now sent out parties to bring in the dead and wounded, and by this

[1] See page 33 above.

time the tents had come up, so that, despite the mud on which the 31st, in common with its neighbours, were encamped, a tolerably comfortable dinner was secured. Norman found time to visit the camps of other regiments, and to pick up the news. He learnt that the casualties in the rest of the brigade from which his regiment had parted company were more severe than in the 31st. The 2nd European Light Infantry had lost sixty-seven men killed and wounded, while the 70th N.I. had twenty-five placed *hors de combat*. As to the comparative immunity of his own regiment, this he attributed to the splendid practice made by Captain Dawes' field battery, and to the alacrity with which H.M.'s 29th Foot had advanced while the 31st was altering its formation, as well as to the appearance of General Campbell on the scene. That General's division, and in particular H.M.'s 24th Foot in Pennycuick's brigade, had suffered most heavily of all. This gallant regiment went into action with thirty-seven officers, forty-six sergeants, forty-two corporals, seventeen drummers, and 922 privates. At the close of the battle it laid out on its mess table the remains of fourteen officers, including Brigadier J. Pennycuick, C.B., Colonel R. Brookes, Ensign Alexander Pennycuick, and Sergeant-Major Coffee, who received his commission after death. Of non-commissioned officers and men, 217 were killed, and ten officers and 278 non-commissioned officers and men were wounded, making a total of 529 casualties.

Naturally, however, Norman's curiosity was mainly aroused as to the disaster to the cavalry which had exposed the right flank of his own brigade and severed the 31st from H.M.'s Light Infantry

and the 70th N.I. His account of the nine squadrons that gave way is followed by these comments :

Much discussion took place as to this unfortunate flight of so fine a body of cavalry, and endeavours were made to show that it was owing to the Brigadier being old and past his work,[1] or to the order in which the cavalry advanced being faulty; and later on Sir Charles Napier suggested that the officers had not properly led their men. In truth, the flight arose from a panic, such as has seized the best soldiers at times. There was a thick jungle in which little could be seen, and when some of the Sikh horse appeared in front, a panic arose, discreditable and disastrous no doubt, but one of those unhappy accidents which are not without many precedents in war. As the cavalry did not remain to fight, neither want of leading nor formation could have had much to say to the fright. It was a simple panic among good regiments, for both the 9th and the 14th had old reputations, and afterwards in many a hard fight did themselves honour with several of the very officers who were unable to check their flight at Chilianwala, whilst the 1st and 6th Light Cavalry had achieved high reputations in Kabul, Gwalior, and Aliwal, and the 6th in the magnificent charge they had made at Sitabaldi.

Norman was surprised to learn how little service had been rendered by the artillery, especially when he called to mind how much Captain Dawes had achieved in his own part of the battlefield. 'The

[1] Having quoted Norman's view on this burning question, I would invite attention to the account given by Viscount Chetwynd in the *Army and Navy Gazette* of May 21, 1904. His lordship was a subaltern in the *serre-file* rank of the 14th at Chilianwala. He writes: 'It was a word of command and nothing else that turned the men in my front; there was nothing there that I saw that could suggest hesitation to Europeans. The men about me did not ride over the guns and upset them. The retreat was stopped, not by the parson with his pistol, but by the simple means of a rallying-point, consisting of a few men fronted. . . . What these troops wanted was a leader. As Mr. S. S. Thorburn says in *The Punjab in Peace and War*, the untoward event was immediately due to the incompetent leader and to want of supports.'

heavy guns in the centre of the army remained stationary after they had ceased to fire consequent on the advance of the infantry.' On the extreme left of the British infantry there was a fine brigade of ten squadrons of cavalry with three troops of horse artillery.

The nine guns of General Campbell's division, as before stated, joined the artillery with this brigade, and yet the twenty-seven guns did little or nothing of value, and at all events at the decisive time when a smart fire from a dozen guns would have ensured disaster to the Sikhs, they were quite out of the fight.

The battle of Chilianwala has been well described as the foot soldier's battle, and this description is borne out by Norman's personal experience.

Nothing remained but to give a soldier's burial to those who had fallen.

On the afternoon of the second day [after the battle] the officers who had been killed were buried in graves dug in the mound which we captured on the 13th, and where our heavy guns were now established. It was a melancholy ceremony, and the Commander-in-Chief, who attended, did not look happy. Twenty-nine officers were buried, and we looked from the graves to the enemy's camp, which we could plainly see, and thought with sadness that our heavy losses had not secured us a decisive success. It was understood now that the Commander-in-Chief would await the capture of Multan, and reinforcement by the troops engaged there, before he would assail the enemy's position which was becoming stronger every day.

The Sikhs, however, did not wait to be attacked, and the final reckoning was deferred. The two armies next met at Gujrat on February 21, by which time, owing to the fall of Multan, Gough's force had increased to about 24,000 men with eighty-eight

guns, and the new position of the Sikhs had been thoroughly reconnoitred. In this crowning victory Norman's regiment formed part of Gilbert's 2nd infantry division, being one of the three regiments of the third brigade under Penny. With it were associated its old comrades the 2nd European Regiment under Major Steel, and the 70th N.I. Upon this brigade devolved the movement which decided the battle: namely, the direct attack upon the villages of Kalra which the Sikhs had fortified and loopholed, and whence they poured, in the words of the official despatch, 'a terrific and well-directed cannonade' upon their assailants. The 2nd Europeans, accompanied by General Penny himself, again covered themselves with glory, losing three officers and nine men killed, and 140 wounded. In the 70th the proportion was as ten of the former to forty of the latter, while in Norman's regiment besides eleven killed, no less than 132 were wounded, including Ensign Gully. On this occasion the artillery did good service, and within an hour of its advance the battle was won, at a total cost of ninety-six killed and some 700 wounded.

After Gujrat Norman saw the campaign to the finish, taking part in the pursuit and the final capitulation of the Sikh army and the ignominious expulsion of the Afghans. His regiment was then ordered to take its place in the garrison of Peshawar, the outpost of the Indian Empire, which was exposed not merely to the persistent raids of the wild frontier tribes, but to the risk of attack by the ruler of Afghanistan, whose conduct in the Sikh war had not been forgiven by Lord Dalhousie. Until December 1849 Norman remained as Adjutant of his regiment, actively engaged in supplying the gaps occasioned

in the ranks by the recent campaign, and bringing it up to a state of efficiency for further service. In the middle of that month his Brigadier and constant friend, Sir Colin Campbell, selected him during a temporary vacancy to act as brigade-major to the troops in the Peshawar district, pending the choice of an officer by the Commander-in-Chief to fill the post permanently.

1850.—Sir Charles Napier visited Peshawar at the end of January 1850, on a tour of inspection, and he had hardly arrived when trouble broke out with the Afridis. The authorities had given orders for the construction of a military road through the mountain pass for a distance of thirteen miles between Peshawar and Kohat. The Afridis, however, entertained a strong objection to the purdah or veil being lifted, and, resenting the intrusion of foreigners into their rugged country, they emphasised their feelings by killing and wounding some sappers employed upon the road. This offence was aggravated by the fact that they received a subsidy from Government for the protection of the road; and accordingly the Board of Administration called upon the military authorities to punish the offenders. Sir Colin Campbell therefore set out in February 1850, with a force which Norman accompanied as brigade-major, and Sir Charles Napier, always eager for service, himself went with it. The tribes resisted the advance, and closely followed upon the troops as they retired after performing their task, inflicting upon them ninety-three casualties; but the pass was forced and fresh troops were poured into Kohat. The British remained content with what they had achieved, and although the Governor-General was not disposed to magnify their success or to treat the

affair as an 'expedition,' the Commander-in-Chief was well pleased.

1851.—He therefore lent a ready ear to Campbell's recommendation, and Lord Dalhousie's Government approved of Norman's appointment as brigade-major, in spite of his youth and comparatively short service of little more than six years.

Peshawar offered a splendid opportunity to a young staff officer keenly interested in his profession. With the outposts there was assembled there a large force kept available for immediate service, which included three regiments of cavalry, seven troops or batteries of artillery, and seven infantry corps. But the savage tribesmen were as little inclined to observe the frontier line or refrain from raids on British subjects as they had been under Sikh or Afghan dominion. Many decades were to pass before Afridi, Momand, Orakzai, or Waziri learnt that the British were as strong to maintain their own as they were ready to respect the right of others, and it was natural that after the overthrow of the Sikhs they should give the rein to their own marauding enterprises. The murder of Carne in 1851 led to the Hassanzai expedition, while that of Boulnois required that a still severer lesson should be taught to the Momands in 1852. In the latter expedition on April 15, 1852, Norman distinguished himself in an engagement at Panjpao, where Campbell, with 600 men of all ranks, utterly routed ten times as many tribesmen, who, under cover of approaching darkness made an impetuous rush upon his slender force. Sir Colin recorded in his despatch his very particular thanks to Lieutenant H. W. Norman, Brigade-Major, and Ensign P. S. Lumsden, but it was not until 1869 that Norman and

the other survivors of this gallant affair received the Indian medal with clasp. Several other opportunities arose for chastising the frontier tribes, in which Norman took part, and what added value to his experiences was the fact that in these frontier affairs the irregular troops, which afterwards became the famous Punjab frontier force, had their full share.

1852.—In 1852 the command at Peshawar, which had for some months before been raised provisionally to that of a division, was permanently constituted a divisional command under General A. Roberts, the distinguished father of a more distinguished son, Earl Roberts, with two brigades, one at Peshawar, and the other at Rawalpindi, together making up a force of some 18,000 men. Of this division Norman became at first the acting, and later on the permanent, assistant adjutant-general. In March he went on service with the force sent against the Ranazais, and in April against the Momands. The month of May saw him in the field again against the Utmankhels and the Swatis, while his ordinary duties also took him on a tour of inspection with his Chief to visit the various frontier forts, and into the country of the Usufzais. He thus laid up for himself a store of valuable information about the frontier. When, at the end of the year, General Hewitt replaced General Roberts in the command, the latter published in divisional orders, dated December 15, 1853,

> his most cordial thanks to the whole of the staff, but more especially to Lieut. Norman, the deputy-assistant adjutant-general, and acting A.D.C., with whom the Brigadier-General has been in daily communication, and whom he found possessed of all the qualifications for a good soldier and a first-rate staff officer.

1853.—The year 1853 proved no exception to the rule, and Norman was on service again in the expedition against the Bori Afridis. But it was in other respects an important epoch in his life; for on April 14 he married, at Peshawar, Selina Eliza, daughter of Dr. Alexander Davidson, Inspector-General of hospitals, and his letters to her, written nearly every day during the mutiny, show the love which he bore to her and the happiness of their married life. 'She was a most devoted wife,' writes one who knew her, 'and a woman of great determination of character, who thought that there was no one to be compared to her husband.' Their first children, a boy and a girl, were born on April 26, 1854.

1854.—Early in 1854 General Roberts left India, bidding Norman good-bye in a letter in which he testified to the value of his services in these terms: 'Your great local knowledge and talent for detail and all office duties, combined with your suavity of manner, so essential in a public officer, rendered my command one of comparative ease and confidence even in times of excitement.' As usual, there were further disturbances on the thorny frontier of the tribal country, and Norman was on service against the Momands in August, closing the year with a tour of inspection.

1855.—In January 1855 he was transferred from the Peshawar to the Sarhind Division of which the headquarters were at Ambala—a transfer which caused him some regret at the prospect of losing the excitement and experience of frontier expeditions. To his wife the change brought the compensation of proximity to Simla, and to himself it was not without advantage since he arrived in time to take part in a camp of exercise under the command

of General Mildmay Fane, a Waterloo officer, with Brigadier Sydney Cotton, his 'most energetic second in command.' The manœuvres lasted for several weeks, and at their close the troops were inspected by the Commander-in-Chief. But when they were over Norman began to feel that from a soldier's point of view life at Ambala was dull as compared with the alarums and excursions of a frontier division. While he was thus sighing for active service, he received news of the outbreak of the Santal rebellion, with the despatch of his own loved regiment from Barrackpore, and he instantly applied for permission to return and share its fortunes. This being granted, he hastened in August to the scene of the rising, reckless of the heat and the discomfort of the journey.

I was glad to rejoin my own regiment, and still more glad when I reached its headquarters in the field to find that I would be able to effect an exchange with a brother officer who commanded an outpost, and thus get closer to the rebels, and have the great satisfaction of being to a certain extent my own master with men under me, many of whom I had known well less than six years previously. I remained with this detachment till January 1856, during which we had some rough and unhealthy service, but I have always looked upon this little episode as affording to me most valuable experience. Except my own charming subaltern,[1] who was soon to fall in action, I rarely saw a European and lived among my men. In this way and by constant association with my native officers I became very intimately acquainted with the character of the native soldiers, and I learned in an unmistakable way what they thought of the annexation of Oudh which then took place and to which most of them belonged. I learned, too, a great deal of the weak points of the Sepoy, and also became acquainted with many qualities which I then had ample opportunities of seeing.

[1] Lieutenant Spens.

The unfortunate Santals who had burst out into a flame of insurrection against society in general because the civilised moneylender and underlings of Government had taken advantage of their ignorance and simplicity, showed no mercy to European or native, man or woman, adult or child; but with their bows and battle-axes they were no match for disciplined troops. Their safety lay in the absence of roads, the inhospitable nature of their country, and the severity of the rainy season. Cavalry was unable to follow them through the forest, and infantry could do little more than draw cordons round them, occasionally scouring patches of jungle, but with more effect leaving them a prey to hunger, disease, and the ravages of wild beasts. Even that process told heavily upon the troops employed, and the slight young officer whose thin frame had provoked comment from the medical board did not spare himself. Except for the opportunity of studying the Sepoy, the work in hand was very unpleasant. There was constant discord between the civil and the military authorities. In the absence of Lord Dalhousie from Calcutta, the Bengal Government was of two minds, and the soldier felt that firing volleys into villages and the slaughter of the brave and ill-armed Santals were things unworthy of his profession. Norman, however, made the best of the business, and at least added to his stock of experience.

1856.—When the rigours of climate and disease had suppressed the Santals and left nothing more for the soldier to do, Norman's mind went back to the superior attractions of Peshawar, and finding that his successor there preferred Ambala, he exchanged appointments and returned to his old

duties at the frontier outpost in February 1856. He now found General T. Reed in charge of the division, and Sydney Cotton in command of the garrison. The latter was carrying out a series of instructive field manœuvres with his brigade, and Norman, as anxious to learn a lesson in peace as to take part in service in time of war, obtained permission from his chief, General Reed, and attended the various exercises and field days.

An officer whose whole heart was in his profession, and to whom neither climate nor social attractions offered any temptation to avoid duty, was bound to command as well as to deserve the patronage of Government. Norman therefore had not long to wait before fresh promotion came to him. For as soon as Colonel Tucker, C.B., retired from the office of Adjutant-General at the headquarters of the Bengal army, and the consequent changes left vacant the post of second assistant to Colonel Chester, the new Adjutant-General, he was chosen to fill it. This entailed a tedious journey to Bengal within a few weeks of his return from that Presidency, while the responsibility of taking with him his wife and three small children, the youngest girl being only ten weeks old, in the burning month of May, gave him many anxious hours. Travelling sometimes by dooley and sometimes by dak for nearly 1,400 miles, the party reached Raniganj, where the new railway, inaugurated by Lord Dalhousie, would take them to Calcutta. Twenty-nine 'weary and painful' days were spent on the road, and not even Norman's own cheerful spirit and ready resource could do more than alleviate the utter misery of it to his family. By the end of May he had settled down in Calcutta and made the acquaintance of

the new Commander-in-Chief, General the Hon. George Anson. The non-commissioned and native officers of his old regiment soon found him out, and from them he heard, but without reading the signs of the times, the first moanings of the storm that in another year was to hurry to sudden death so many of his friends.

Before that storm burst he had gained further experience and made fresh acquaintances which were presently turned to account. For General Anson, with his headquarters' staff, left Calcutta in September by river for Allahabad on a prolonged tour of inspection, visiting all the stations up to Allahabad, and then Cawnpore, Aligarh, Lucknow, and Meerut.

1857.—At the last station Norman was left behind with the office until March 1857, and for some time was the guest of Captain MacDonald, who, with his wife, was killed by his own mutinous soldiers three months later. Thence he proceeded to Simla, and remained there until General Anson arrived at the foot of the hills, when Norman joined him for the inspection of the two E. I. Company's European regiments, the 1st and 2nd Fusiliers. When this was completed, he returned to Simla, where a little later the news of the murder of Colonel Finnis on the evening of Sunday, May 10, and the mutiny of the native troops at Meerut was brought to him, and for the first time opened his eyes to the dark hints and confidences which he had received from his native officers.

It would seem [he wrote some years afterwards] as if I should have known or guessed what was going to happen, but I did not do so, though no doubt in common with others I felt that there was danger, though not in the shape

that actually happened. It is saddening to look back and think of the number of officers, ladies, and children whom I saw in high spirits during that cold weather, and who perished in May and June 1857.

The same confession of ignorance was made by the Lawrences and almost every other servant of the Company, however experienced or distinguished. Nevertheless, Norman had heard a great deal of complaint, and after a careful review of the whole subject he attributed the mutiny of the native army to three causes: first, the general service order and various changes that worried the soldier; secondly, the annexation of Oudh; thirdly, political intrigue; the three causes together creating a spirit of discontent that flared up when the new cartridges gave rise to the cry that the Indian faiths were assailed. In short, discontent and religious panic were, he believed, the explanation of the sudden outburst in the army. Some of the influences which led to that catastrophe are liable to recur, and before we follow Norman to the ridge at Delhi, it is well to conclude this chapter by a quotation from his observations on this subject.

Referring to the general service order issued by Lord Canning's Government in 1856, which rendered Sepoys enlisting after that notification liable to serve across sea or wherever ordered, he writes:

> It is true that the order applied to future enlistments, but the Sepoys who were suspicious apprehended that it was the thin end of the wedge, and that after some time all native troops would be sent across sea whenever Government thought fit. The soldier of Bengal has a dread of crossing the 'black water.' This dread was not one of sentiment only, and the experience of those who had volunteered and been at sea was not encouraging to others. The Hindu Sepoy, who was generally of high caste, had his caste

prejudices offended on board in regard to food and water. This became very irksome when the voyage extended to China, Java, or the Mauritius. From the medical officer who served with the Bengal Fusiliers in the China war 1840–1842 I heard a piteous tale of how the Sepoys living principally on parched grain sickened and died of dysentery. At present the Sepoy goes in fast steamers to his destination, and efforts are made to provide for his health and comfort. It was different in those days, and the order which appeared reasonable to Europeans and in the interest of the soldiers caused apprehension in the ranks of the Bengal army.

Then upon the top of this order came several reforms which disturbed the minds of the army and the effect of which must still be carefully watched by reformers even in the present day.

Various new kinds of drill were introduced, such as escalading drill and bayonet exercise which took up time and exertion, and were not popular with the Sepoy who loved his ease and looked for leisure after his usual drills and guards. One order also severely affected the future of some good soldiers in every regiment. For many years there had been a regulation that no Sepoy should be promoted to be a non-commissioned officer unless he could read and write. When I joined the army in 1844, the order was a dead letter, but in 1855 it was ordered that the regulation should be enforced, and some excellent soldiers who had gone through several campaigns, served fourteen years and expected advancement, knew that when the order came out all hope of it was gone. In my old company three or four such men who had distinguished themselves in the Punjab and against the Afridis almost cried when they deplored their misfortune, and when I told them that only a little learning was needed they declared that they were too old to learn. Again, the order to have a proportion of Sikhs in certain regiments was not welcomed, for there was no love between the Sikh and the Hindustani.

Dealing with the influence of political intrigue,

Norman referred to the emissaries of the Nana Sahib and their secret incitement; while on the subject of the annexation of Oudh he wrote:

It took place while I was with my regiment in the Santal country, and my old subadar constantly dwelt upon the injustice of it, and reminded me how the kings of Oudh had taken no advantage of our position during serious wars, and had advanced us money when we were in want of it. Of course, the real offence to Oudh soldiers in our service was that as Sepoys of the great Company they enjoyed special privileges in the civil courts of their country, and these they were sure to lose when regular British courts and civil officers were established in Oudh.

Passing on to the allegation sometimes made as to a want of discipline, Norman brushed it aside.

I should say that the discipline was good, and on service great efforts could confidently be looked for, the marching powers of the men in particular being remarkable. But there was a spirit of discontent abroad, and the army being in this condition was suddenly brought under an apprehension of having their faith insidiously assailed, whether they were Hindus or Muhammedans, by the issue of a new cartridge the biting of which, prior to insertion in a new rifle about to be issued, would defile them. This dread acting on men already dissatisfied was sufficient to change the whole nature of the Sepoy, and to make him ripe for the operation of political intrigue which was not wanting at the time. This, according to my judgment, was the true condition of affairs.

Such also in effect was the opinion of Sir John Lawrence, who, although he repudiated the idea of antecedent conspiracy as a serious factor, admitted that intrigue was subsequently used by disaffected persons to compass their own ends, while the 'proximate cause of the mutiny in the army was the

cartridge affair and nothing else.' Whatever the cause may have been, Norman harboured no doubt as to the extreme gravity of the situation when the news from Meerut reached Simla, and he at once braced himself for the duty which lay before him.

CHAPTER III

ON THE RIDGE AT DELHI, 1857[1]

Value of Norman's services at Delhi—Receipt of the signaller's telegram from Delhi—Action instantly taken by General Anson—Norman goes to Ambala—Transport difficulties—Anson's death from cholera—Meerut and Ambala forces unite—Battle of Badli-ki-serai—Chester's death—Capture of the Ridge and its occupation—Arrival of the Guides—Metcalfe's house occupied—Spirit of confidence inspired by success—Proposed assault on the city happily abandoned—Communications with the rest of India—Desperate attack by the rebels, June 19, on the rear of the camp—Jind contingent moved to Baghpat—Scanty resources of General Barnard for meeting attacks—Appointment of Neville Chamberlain as Adjutant-General.

As Norman lay dying one Sunday morning in the peaceful retreat at Chelsea, where Sir Christopher Wren had translated into stately architecture the hospitable intentions of Charles II. for the declining years of 'emerited soldiers,' he was visited by Sir Thomas Barlow with the senior medical officer at the Hospital. Human science could do no more for him in his passage from this world, and Sir Thomas advised him to settle any affairs that still needed his attention. Norman replied that his affairs in this world were all settled, and as for the next his faith had for many years rested firm and steadfast in his blessed Saviour. When the professional work was over, Sir Thomas remained with him for a while and talked about his public career, inquiring what service he regarded as the

[1] See Plan of Delhi, facing p. 86.

most useful that he had been able to render to his country. Norman said, 'Without doubt at the siege of Delhi.' 'He laid,' writes Sir Thomas, 'great stress on the loyal help he had received then and in all the work he had done. His words were very stirring—so modest and simple, as though he had been just the instrument and nothing more.' Delhi at all times stood first in his mind as the scene of his countrymen's most dire distress and most thrilling triumph in Indian warfare. And yet his surroundings suggested other achievements in which he had taken part, and to which public opinion had at the time given a higher place. The banners hanging from the coved roof of the Chapel with their colours faded under an Indian sun; the medals proudly worn by the pensioners in token of brave deeds done at the siege of Lucknow or at the relief of Cawnpore; and the obelisk in the garden which recorded the death of 155 British officers and men on the bloodstained field of Chilianwala—these must have brought back to him other hard-fought battles in which he had borne his part. But as in the vigour of his prime, so also in the hours of his calm decay, the siege of Delhi appeared to him the occasion on which the moral and physical qualities of soldiers had been put to the severest test, and those who had had a share in that struggle were, in his view, the appointed and privileged instruments of God's purposes for the preservation of British rule in India. As far as he himself was concerned, he always felt that, if he had possessed the gift of prophecy so that he might have foreseen the part he would have to play between June 8 and September 20, 1857, he could not have selected for himself better experiences or have laid down with wiser judgment a plan

of self-preparation. He had turned to the best account his opportunities for studying thoroughly the character and capabilities of native troops; he had seen active service on the rugged mountainous frontier, in the open plains of the Punjab, and in the dense jungle of Santalistan; he had won the confidence of Generals Anson, Sir H. Barnard, Reed, and A. Wilson, who were successively to hold supreme command; and made friendships with Nicholson, Daly, Tombs, Probyn, Lumsden, Hodson, and others who were to win immortal fame in the operations before Delhi. Widely known and trusted, welcomed in every mess, always cheerful and optimistic, Norman was fitted, as perhaps no one else in the army, to be at the right hand of the Commander-in-Chief in this Slough of Despond into which the Government of the great Company had fallen.

May 1857.—The early part of May did not pass even at Simla without symptoms of growing disquietude. Colonel J. Craigie Halkett, C.B., who commanded the 20th Regiment, was on sick leave at that hill resort, and received almost daily reports of events at Meerut. When the news arrived that eighty-five men of the 3rd Light Cavalry stationed there had refused to parade for carbine drill, alleging that they would lose caste if they used the cartridges which they had always been accustomed to use, and had even made up for themselves in the regiment, Norman recognised the flimsy character of their excuse for insubordination. But he was promptly assured that the trial of these offenders would at once check any tendency to mutiny, and that the other regiments at Meerut might be fully trusted. On May 10, being a Sunday, as the residents at Simla were going to church, a

native mendicant, or fakir, outraged their feelings by presenting himself quite naked to their view. On the following morning Norman saw a Persian placard affixed to a tree in front of the Commander-in-Chief's house, which contained dark hints of trouble with the 1st Light Cavalry at Mhow and the 56th N.I. at Cawnpore. At Colonel Keith-Young's dinner-table that night a report was current of suspicious language employed by the Sepoys at Allahabad, and Norman predicted, what turned out to be the case, that Captain Russell of the Artillery would certainly blow up the magazine sooner than let it fall into the hands of mutineers. On May 12 all doubt was dispelled by the arrival of an officer who had ridden in from Ambala, where the telegraph ended, with a copy of the famous message received by Sir Henry Barnard in command of the Sarhind Division. The message, dated May 11, from the signaller [1] at Delhi to the signaller at Ambala, was at once repeated to all stations, while a copy of it was sent by post to John Lawrence at Rawalpindi. Its terms were these :

> We must leave office. All the bungalows are burning down by the sepoys of Meerut. They came in this morning. We are off. Don't call to-day. Mr. C. Todd is dead, I think. He went out this morning and has not returned yet. We heard that nine Europeans are killed. Good bye.

This, the first intimation received by the Commander-in-Chief of any rising at Meerut, was made

[1] William Brendish, M.V.O., who sent this message, died on November 2, 1907, at Calcutta. Todd was the telegraph-master at Delhi, who had gone out to repair the line. The text of the message is taken from the copy received by Norman, but according to other versions the sentence 'Don't call to-day' was transmitted as 'Don't roll to-day'—'rolling' conveying to the signallers the same meaning as calling-up or conversing.

doubly grave by the knowledge that Delhi, with its important magazine, must now be in the hands of the mutineers. The military authorities were therefore no longer under any misapprehension as to the widespread and persistent character of the revolt with which the Government were confronted. Such steps as were possible to meet it were at once taken. Two hundred and fifty men of H.M.'s 75th Foot (now the 1st Gordon Highlanders) were ordered to march without delay from Kasauli to Ambala, which they reached at 3 P.M. on May 14, after suffering much from the heat. From Dagshai the Bengal European Regiment, the 1st Fusiliers (now the 1st Royal Munster Fusiliers), was despatched for the same destination, while the 2nd European Fusiliers prepared to follow them, and the Sirmur Battalion of faithful Gurkhas was directed to move from Dehra to Meerut. Upon the 4th Irregular Cavalry less reliance was placed, but it was ordered to leave Hansi and proceed wherever the officer commanding the Sarhind Division might direct. At the same time a report of these movements was made by the Quartermaster-General to the Government at Calcutta, which place, however, it did not reach until December 11. On the other hand a circular [1] issued from Norman's department on May 14, ordering at all stations the temporary suspension of firing for drill or practice purposes, reached Calcutta on June 6.

[1] Norman always referred to this circular and the arrangements detailed above as vindicating the Army Staff from the charge made by Kaye that they failed to discern the dire import of the news which had reached them; and in particular he repudiated the allegation that General Anson was enjoying his ease at Simla, stating that he was really hard at work conducting all his business as head of the army and dealing vigorously with correspondence which had accumulated during his tour of inspection.

Having carried out his orders, Norman prepared to follow the Commander-in-Chief, who had already started for Ambala. It had been arranged that Colonel Chester, the Adjutant-General, should take Norman with him, leaving Captain S. Becher, the 1st Assistant Adjutant-General, in charge of the office at Simla. Accordingly, with his usual alacrity Norman took a hasty leave of his wife and family, and reaching Harripur at 6.30 the same evening, supplemented his parting words with a cheering letter which he was able to despatch to his wife on May 14.

Just arrived here ; the jhampanis very slow and weather hot, so I fear that I shall not make much progress to-night. I met no officers going down, and believe Colonel Becher is the only one ahead of me. No news on the road, but met many old Gurkha pensioners who live about here going up to stay at Jutogh during the absence of the corps, all of them with kukris (curved knives) and plucky old fellows no doubt. By the way, I saw when taking leave of —— that he is inclined to be an alarmist, and make things out worse than they are (which is certainly unnecessary at present) ; so do not mind all he said—ours was a bitter parting, but keep a good heart and pray to God to grant us a joyful meeting ere long . . .

Arrived at Ambala he prepared his wife for some delay in starting for Delhi.

We have [he writes on May 16] had a meeting of the staff and commanding officers for a long time to-day at the Commander-in-Chief's. We do not move at present. In fact, we have not carriage. The Patiala Raja is doing good service. No tidings from below Meerut. Admirable measures are being adopted in the Punjab, and a powerful force without Hindustanis is being concentrated at Jhelum to move whenever requisite.

Three days later he wrote :

I am overwhelmed with work, and until this moment

we have had only ladies to copy, but now a clerk and babu have come in. No doubt we shall weather through this fiery ordeal. . . . We have heaps of difficulties of all sorts, and I really do not see how we are to move without carriage, of which we have but little. Dooley bearers and supplies are scarce. The best thing that could happen for us would be a good sharp fight. Mind, I in no way despond, and feel a well-assured hope we shall yet pass many happy days.

At last, however, the move was made, the siege guns being ordered to follow; and on May 24 Norman joined the camp of H.M.'s 75th Foot at Pipli. Next day he advanced to Karnal, where the Commander-in-Chief was to join them, and wrote a long letter to his wife, from which the following extracts are taken :

The 9th N.I., as I told you yesterday, had mutinied, and to-day we hear the 29th at Moradabad have done the same [1]; also the Sappers left at Rurki. I suppose the whole native army will do the same. It does not make much difference, as we could never trust any of them again, and what fighting is to be done must be done by Europeans alone.[2] I long to hear of your arrival at Kasauli. I hope your father and mother will be there. . . . Several European prisoners at Delhi were butchered last Sunday in the palace. Providence has tried us sorely, but with God's aid there is not the slightest cause for despondency. What we want is an actual fight, which will do our troops all the good in the world. We have no clerks up, and the work is dreadful. I am already as sleepy as if it were midnight.

Two days later he has to convey the news of a worse enemy than mutiny.

Poor General Anson [he writes on May 27] was attacked

[1] The rumour was premature. The 29th mutinied on May 31, but, unlike other regiments, allowed their officers to escape.

[2] Norman gratefully acknowledged that this anticipation was not correct. He felt as strongly as others did the noble part played by loyal troops at Delhi and elsewhere.

with cholera yesterday, and died at 2.30 A.M. this morning. So General Barnard now commands here, and General Reed becomes commander of the forces in Bengal, *pro tem.*, but we of course remain for the present with this force. A good many of the men have died of cholera, particularly in the 75th, and yesterday a good many of us had twinges, which brandy and laudanum removed. I had sharp pain, but by the above remedy and walking about I became all right, or nearly so, in an hour; and I have been able to work all along. To-day I am quite right. Every one, including Hallifax,[1] Congreve, etc., are loud for Pat Grant to be sent up, and Chester is sending a private letter to this effect to Lord Canning, but there is no saying whether it will reach. We have accounts of the 55th having been cut up at Mardan. Colonel S. committed suicide. Half the Meerut force under Wilson move out immediately to threaten Delhi, and we have now at Panipat two guns, all the 1st Fusiliers, and two squadrons of the 9th Lancers. No letter yet come from you; but Young arrived last night and had seen you at Kasauli all right, which relieved my mind much.

In his next letter he asks his wife to write by every mail to his mother and cheer her up, while he reports for communication to the wives of other officers in the force that their husbands are well, 'and do not by any means look as if they were going to knock up.'

On May 29 he expresses his delight at hearing that his wife is going to Simla, and adds :

I see you write in not very cheerful terms and fear you have been amongst some melancholy people. Put away all despondency, for there is no cause for it. You will see that we shall walk into Delhi in no time, and that will put things straight. If you could see the bearing of our troops and officers you would feel very certain they are not the kind of men to fail against a pack of ruffianly mutineers. I heard Sir T. Metcalfe relate his wonderful escape. Every

[1] Brigadier Hallifax died on June 1 at Karnal of brain fever.

soul was against him, even his intimate friend the Nawab of Juggur and his own police.

June 1857.—Secure in his own stout heart he does not shrink from relating hard facts or hide the discomforts and difficulties of the advance. In one letter he tells of a weary march of twenty-three miles, when, leaving Panipat at 10 P.M. on a sultry night in June, he does not reach his camping ground till 5 A.M. the next morning. In another, of 'a high wind with dust and heat, and I am perfectly filthy. The thermometer in the tents is 112°.' Yet again he refers to a noxious marsh in which he is encamped, waiting for the heavy guns to come up. Thoughtful of his servants he sends greetings to them, and transmits messages on behalf of those with him to their families left behind at Simla. Fortunately no one in the force fully realised what was occurring elsewhere, or guessed at this time that no reinforcements could reach them from England.

We had letters [he writes on June 5] from Lord Canning in the night. The 84th, Madras Fusiliers, and 35th Foot are being pushed up by horse, dak and bullock train at the rate of 118 men a day, so that as far as we can make out the whole 84th must be now[1] at Cawnpore and most of the Fusiliers at Benares. There has been a rising in Lucknow, which was suppressed with some loss of life. Sir H. Lawrence has held Oudh in check in the most wonderful manner. Lord Canning is full of pluck. Here it would do you good to see the cheerful and determined face put on matters by most, even when alarming reports come in. There are many here whom nothing can appal. Chester and Young

[1] These expectations were not realised. When Sir H. Wheeler was shut up at Cawnpore only two companies of the 84th had reached that cantonment, and one of them had been sent on to Lucknow.

are perfect in their equanimity, and Chamberlain. As to the troops, all we have to fear is that their passion for revenge may bring on disorder. We will do, however, our best to keep them thoroughly in hand.

Confidence in himself and in British prowess was only part of the armour with which Norman girded himself. In a letter, dated June 7, he looks in faith to a higher support.

Yours of the 4th just received has made me sad on account of dear little Helen. I trust the poor child is better now. We are passing through trials in every way. May God be with us, and who shall be against us? We shall drive in their advanced posts at daylight to-morrow, and then move on to the cantonment. I believe they have eighteen guns outside which ought to be ours before breakfast time. We have some 250 doubtful irregular cavalry with us which we hope to get rid of to-night. The Guides are to-day four marches in our rear. God bless and preserve you, and anticipate good news. But should you not hear for a day or two never mind, as we may be constantly employed, and half-a-dozen plunderers can always stop the mail cart.

June 7.—June 7 was an eventful day, for it witnessed the junction of Archdale Wilson's force from Meerut and Major Reid's gallant Sirmur battalion of 400 Gurkhas with the Ambala troops at Alipur. The 60th Rifles 'came swinging along after their sixteen-mile march singing splendidly in chorus.' Besides them Wilson brought four troops of Carbineers, Tombs's troop of horse artillery, Scott's field battery, forty British and 150 native Sappers, two 18-pounder guns, and a troop of the 4th Irregular Cavalry. The siege train was close behind, and with these Barnard had his own troops, consisting of the 9th Lancers, the 75th Foot, the 1st and 2nd Bengal Europeans, two troops of Horse

Artillery, the 60th N.I., and a squadron of the 4th Native Cavalry. 'After providing as well as possible for our own rear,' wrote Norman to Sir Colin Campbell, 'we were able on June 8 to attack the enemy's intrenched position at Badli-ki-Serai, four miles from Delhi, with twenty-two field guns, 650 Dragoons, 2,200 Infantry, of whom 400 were Gurkhas.' Just before the advance was made, General Reed, C.B., a Waterloo hero, who had come from Peshawar to succeed Anson pending further orders, arrived on the scene. But he was utterly prostrated by his journey in the intense heat, and wisely left the direction of the engagement in the hands of Barnard, to whom Norman and the rest of the headquarters' staff were allowed to attach themselves. And now the long wished for opportunity of a 'good sharp fight' had arrived, and no one at the time foresaw the weary weeks of waiting which were to follow victory. Barnard left a small force under Major Cobbe to protect the baggage, and divided his main body into two columns, keeping the right under his own orders and entrusting the left to Graves.

June 8.—Hope Grant had been previously sent off at 2 A.M. with the cavalry and horse artillery to cross the canal on the right of the British advance, and then, recrossing it when the main attack was being delivered, to strike the enemy in the rear. About sunrise Barnard came within range of the rebels. It was soon seen that the Serai, or walled enclosure, of Badli, on the right of the British advance, was the centre of the enemy's position; and about 200 yards in front of it the mutineers had placed in position on a mound a sand-bag battery with four heavy guns and an 8-inch

howitzer. Fire was opened from it upon Barnard's column, while Graves's brigade was still out of sight and there were no signs of Grant's cavalry. What then occurred is thus told by Norman :

The Staff, having ascended a mound about eight hundred yards from the one on which the guns were planted, were saluted by some well-placed shot and shell, and Colonel Chester, the Adjutant-General, as well as two aides-de-camp, Captain Russell, of the 54th N.I., and Delamain of the 56th, were killed. I was riding with Colonel Chester as his assistant that day, and, as we came along in the grey of the morning, he expressed his delight at the prospect of at last engaging the mutineers after all our trials and anxieties. He felt sure of success, and of the general good effect that would be produced by it, and his voice only shook once when he spoke about our wives anxiously waiting for tidings in their Himalayan retreats. I had shared his tent on the march, and I shall not readily forget the example he set me when night after night we were aroused by cruel tidings of outbreaks and massacres in which we had lost dear friends, but he never quailed before the storm, always confident of final success. His wife had gone to Kasauli, and both were devotedly attached to each other. He was in the act of replying to a remark I had made when a cannon shot struck him and passing through his horse they both sank to the ground. At that moment a cry was raised of ' the enemy's cavalry,' and I left him to tell the infantry lying down below us that it was a false alarm. When I returned he was dead.

Barnard saw that delay would involve heavy losses, and at once ordered H.M.'s 75th Foot to charge, a feat which, under the leadership of Brigadier Showers and Colonel Herbert, they successfully performed, being supported by the 1st European Fusiliers, who suffered heavily from a musketry fire opened on them from an adjoining garden. As soon as the battery was captured, attention was

turned to the Serai, and fortunately at this juncture Graves with his troops appeared on the enemy's right flank, while at the same time Grant with his cavalry was sighted on their left rear, whereupon the rebels hastily abandoned their position. Tombs's guns and a fierce charge from the 9th Lancers completed the victory. The whole British force then advanced to the point where the main road leading to Delhi through the Sabzi Mandi was met by the road to the cantonment lying under the rocky ridge. Here a halt was made to give the troops breathing time, and an incident occurred which Norman relates as follows :

> The Afghan chief, Jan Fishan Khan, a refugee from Kabul, who had for some years been a pensioner near Meerut, and had accompanied Wilson's force with a few Afghan horseman, rode up and asked me to urge the General not to halt, but to push our success to the uttermost at once. He was much relieved when I told him we were only halted for a few minutes to get the troops in hand for an advance against the enemy, when General Wilson would follow the main road while Sir Henry Barnard followed the cantonment road, and the Gurkhas would maintain the communication between these forces, thus attacking the enemy on the ridge on both their flanks while threatening them in front.

The position in front of Barnard's column must now be described. About a mile distant was the Najafgarh canal, crossed by a bridge. On the other side was the parade-ground, and beyond it the buildings for the quarter guards, magazines, etc., of the three native regiments that had composed the garrison, with their lines of huts still further behind. Then came the houses of the officers, many of which had been wrecked, and the regimental hospitals, overhung by the ridge now occupied by the enemy,

BRITISH
ENCAMPMENT
DURING SIEGE
Burial Ground
Malkhpura
Field Battery
Sappers' Encamping Ground
Old.
Gobinding Garden
Kamal Nath Road
Canal from Nangloi
Ground
Rajpura
Sadhwarah Kalan
Old Bund
Sluices
New Escape Channel
Old Escape Channel
Road from Nangloi Bridge
Bridge
Tomb
Old Bund
Small Gate
Mandoo
Old Bridge
Ruins of Ahmad Shah's Palace
Ruins of Ancient Artillery Lines
Qilah Pahar
Sabzi Mandi
Ammunition Battery
Observatory
Martello Tower
Sammy House
Garden
Burial Road
Kilmarie
Kishanganj
Sabzi Mandi
Serai
Light
Gate
Gawalia
Thana and Fire
Kalinga
Bagh Kalinga
Bagh Tilkavia
Ruins of Old Town
Ruins of Ferozabad
Ancient Delhi
Ferozabad Khadar
Buela
Shahjahanabad
Modern Delhi
Rings Palace
Shah Burj
Jay Shah Gate
Mosque
Jumma Masjid
Shah Burj Gate
Lahore Gate
Turkman Gate
Delhi Gate
Ajmeri Gate
Kabul Gate
Kashmir Gate
Water Bastion
Shah Burj Bastion
Nawab Bastion
Bridge of Boats
New Causeway
Bridge
Slaughter House
Ferozeshah Kotla
Tavera bad Banger
Chandrawal
Shamsher Mound
Flag Staff
Chandnee
Enemy's Battery
Martello Piquet
Mound
Sabzi Mandi
Ammunition Battery
Observatory
Martello Tower
Salkeld Battery
Taylor's Battery
Light House
Garden
Burial Ground
Old Bund
Sluices
Tomb
Old Bridge
Ruins of Ancient Artillery Lines
Qilah Pahar
Kishanganj
Serai
Light

from which the walls of Delhi were distant on an average from 1,200 to 1,500 yards. The ridge, which rose to the modest height of 60 feet, descended on the left to the river Jumna, and to the right dipped down to the Grand Trunk Road from Karnal, which, passing through Sabzi Mandi, went on to the Kabul and Lahore gates south of it. Within a few hundred yards of where the road dipped was a house formerly occupied by a Maratha noble, Hindu Rao, and known by his name. Near it stood an ancient observatory, and on the ridge, in a north-easterly direction to the left of the halted troops, was a ruined mosque, and then the flagstaff tower, close to which the rebel troops and guns were visible. It was thus evident that any attempt to cross the canal would be met by artillery fire. Accordingly Salkeld, of the Engineers, was despatched to inspect the bridge over the canal, where he was at once greeted with a discharge from the guns on the ridge, but returned safely to report that the bridge was only partly destroyed and that Barnard's guns could just get over.

So we advanced, and in a short time were under a not very effective artillery fire. Part of the side of the bridge had been broken away, and there were not six inches to spare when the gun-wheels went over, a cannon shot striking the one remaining brick wall of the bridge as one of the guns passed it. Once over, the guns and skirmishers pushed smartly on, and reaching a low part of the ridge to the right of the enemy's guns wheeled to the right and at once silenced them. Then, moving along the ridge, we were soon in communication with Brigadier Wilson, who had come down the high road, captured an eighteen-pounder, then ascended the ridge and occupied the large house belonging to the Raja Hindu Rao. From this position we could see the city walls, whence guns soon opened on us. One of the shots struck a gun limber with General Wilson's

force and exploded it, and it at once became clear that our troops could not occupy the ridge except by means of picquets. The idea of pushing on and attacking the city that day, if it was ever thought of, was not now mentioned, for we saw the formidable nature of the defences and that the enemy were prepared; and we were feeling the intense heat of a June sun after being some eight hours under arms.

Picquets were therefore posted on the ridge, the main one at Hindu Rao's house being established under Major Charles Reid with his brave Sirmur regiment of Gurkhas and two companies of H.M.'s 60th rifles, a position which that gallant officer was at his own request allowed to maintain during the whole siege, thus remaining constantly under fire. The native observatory was also occupied, and Major Reid was charged with the protection of the guns and mortars posted in front of it and of Hindu Rao's house. This was the key of the whole position occupied by the British force, and it required constant relief and reinforcement. From the roof of the house a good view was obtained of the enemy's movements, and reports were thence transmitted to the General. Other positions occupied were the old mosque and the flagstaff tower, a picturesque building of two storeys, from the top of which the banner waved in defiance of the foe.

Shot thro' the staff or the halyard, but ever we raised thee anew,
And ever on the topmost roof our banner of England blew.

Having secured these positions, the troops not required to hold them withdrew at about 11 A.M. from the exposed ridge to the parade-ground, anxiously awaiting the arrival of their tents and

surveying the havoc and ruin which the mutineers had effected.

We found that nearly everything that could be harmed or broken had been destroyed, and the once pleasant residences of officers and their families were a scene of desolation. We were, however, in high spirits at having gained a first and not unimportant success. The tents were not up and the heat excessive when at 2 P.M. the enemy commenced a heavy cannonade from the walls, the balls constantly flying far on our side of the ridge. A body of troops also turned out of the city and threatened Hindu Rao's house, so the infantry again moved up to the ridge at 3 P.M. and the attack died away; but the cannonade did not cease, and it became certain that our picquets on the ridge would always be exposed to the fire of heavy guns, mortars, and howitzers from the city.

With this prospect before them the small British forces not required on the ridge returned to the camping ground after sunset, and proceeding to take count of their losses found that they had to mourn fifty-one killed, three missing, and 132 wounded, with sixty-three horses put out of action. On the other hand, they had captured an 8-inch howitzer, two 24-pounders, two 18-pounders, and eight 9-pounders, with a large quantity of useful ammunition. As regards the strength and composition of the enemy, it was known that regiments from Delhi, Meerut, Aligarh, Bulandshahr, Muttra, Ferozepore, Ambala, and elsewhere were assembled behind the walls of the city. It was estimated that the rebels had lost 400 killed and wounded in the course of the day, and that against some 3,500 British and loyal troops were arrayed at least 8,000 trained troops,[1] protected by strong fortifica-

[1] As fresh regiments mutinied the numbers rose until they reached more than 30,000.

tions, supplied with all the sinews of war, and certain to be augmented by further troops from day to day. One incident of the fight was eagerly discussed in the camp, and is thus referred to in a letter of Norman's to his wife. 'In the first heavy battery the 75th are said to have killed a European, formerly in the artillery, who had directed the fire on us. By the way, I must mention that a European woman was hung at Meerut, being implicated in the arrangements for the first outbreak.' On the other hand he writes: 'Hodson, with fifty Jind Horse, did good service. All our native syces, drivers, lascars, and bearers behaved well.' On the whole there was every reason to be well satisfied with the day's work. The British forces had shown splendid qualities, and although Delhi was not likely to be taken by assault with the numbers now available, their leaders were confident of success when reinforcements should arrive. As to the strength of the position held by the rebels, Norman thus described it after the siege:

> Suffice it that a wall 12 feet thick, with a ditch in front of considerable width and 24 feet deep, with an admirable glacis covering the wall for a full third of its height, bastions in capital order, each holding ten, twelve, or fourteen pieces of heavy artillery so as to form flanking defences around a city seven miles in extent, with the river on one face, constitute a formidable position. At the very lowest estimate there were never fewer than double as many defenders as assailants, and more generally four times as many, and upwards of 300 guns, mostly of heavy calibre, with a plentiful supply of ammunition, even at the very end of the siege.

The troops as a whole were not called upon for further efforts on the 8th, but Norman, who in

consequence of the death of Colonel Chester, now performed the duties of Adjutant-General of the field force,

visited every picquet and outpost at night; some of them with Sir H. Barnard, and the rest with his A.D.C. Turnbull. Even then we came under occasional round shot fire. All night, too, our few sappers were engaged in throwing up a battery on the hill to silence the fire from the city.

June 9.—On the following day all hearts were cheered by the arrival of the first instalment of help which the Punjab, under the strong hand of John Lawrence, was preparing to send.

On the morning of June 9 the force received a most welcome addition by the arrival of the Corps of Guides, consisting of three troops of cavalry, and six companies of riflemen under command of Captain Daly. This distinguished body of men had marched from Mardan in the Yusufzai country to Delhi, 580 miles, in twenty-two days —a wonderful feat when the intense heat of the season is borne in mind. To me it was a great pleasure to see them, for I had been with them in many affairs on their frontiers, and their commander was an old friend, while the native adjutant had been a sepoy drill-instructor under me in the 31st N.I. He was an Oudh Brahman.

The Guides were not allowed to enjoy their much-needed rest after so fatiguing a march, for at 2 o'clock the mutineers emerged from the city in full force, and they were at once in the thick of the fight, losing Quentin Battye, the brave commandant of their cavalry, who was severely wounded, and died the next day. Daly also and Hawes, the adjutant of the infantry, were slightly wounded. Other depressing influences were felt. The popular surgeon of the 75th died of cholera, and General Reed was prostrated with fever. But the work of defence pro-

ceeded, and such heavy guns as the troops had brought with them, the most powerful of which were only 18-pounders, were put into position. It had already been proved that the rebels had guns superior in every respect, and grave doubts were entertained whether the British with the means and men at their disposal could take Delhi by storm.

June 10.—The repulse which the enemy had suffered on the previous day procured some sort of respite for the British on the 10th, and the more sanguine of the officers again began to think of an assault.

Yesterday [writes Norman to his wife] went off much as usual, artillery fire off and on all day, and a skirmish in the evening ; but I do not think twenty men were touched during the day. Any effect, however, from our artillery is not apparent. Poor Battye died from his wound in the evening. The 60th N.I. mutinied at Rohtak yesterday, but all the officers have escaped to this camp. We were harassed by two false alarms at night, one of which kept all the troops out of bed for a long time. The enemy's artillery can reach our camp. The men at a picquet on the right of camp, 1,000 yards in the rear of our batteries, have collared thirty-three eighteen-pounder shot that have fallen near them.

The skirmish referred to above turned out to be more serious than Norman was aware of when he wrote his letter ; for in the next he tells his wife :

The enemy came out in force with guns and Major Reid advanced against them. They called out to his Gurkhas not to fire, for they expected the Gurkhas to join them. The Gurkhas replied, ' All right,' and when the rascals were close they poured shot into them. Scott's guns gave them grape, and they were well beaten back. A Gurkha jemadar was made subadar in general orders for gallantry. In

visiting the batteries now one has to run the gauntlet of fire. The native servants behave well, and go from the camp to the ridge when their masters are there. A khitmutgar lost his leg yesterday by a cannon shot.

June 11.—On the 11th the position of the siege train and the headquarters camp were shifted, and the day passed off without any serious movement by the enemy. The lull was only a preparation for the events of the 12th, when the rebels made two sorties, attacking the picquets at Metcalfe House, lying between the ridge and the river, and later on attempting to carry the position at Hindu Rao's house. Norman himself was exposed to the 'heavy musketry fire' during the former attack, of which he gives the following account:

June 12.—A large body of the Mutineer Infantry having concealed themselves in the ravines in Sir T. Metcalfe's garden, between the flagstaff tower and the river, soon after daylight made a sudden, vigorous onset on the picquet at the tower, consisting of two Horse Artillery guns and a detachment of the 75th Foot. They gained the summit of the ridge on the left of the tower, and the picquet was hard pressed, losing the commander, Captain Knox, who was killed, and several men. The musketry fire was sharp and heavy, and the bullets fell into the camp; some of the enemy descended even to the camp side of the ridge, and three were killed in the sepoy lines, within a short distance of the tents. Reinforcements moved rapidly up in support of the picquet, and the insurgents were driven off and pursued some way. To avoid a recurrence of anything of the kind, a strong picquet was sent to occupy Sir T. Metcalfe's ruined house, close to the river, thus throwing up, as it were, the left flank of our defences, and rendering it almost impossible for the enemy to pass round on that side. This picquet eventually was thrown in advance of the house, and divided into three portions—one, of fifty men, on a mound to the right of the garden, and close to

the road leading from the Kashmir Gate to the cantonment Sadr Bazar, and from this a few men were detached to a house on, and commanding, the road ; fifty men were in a cow-house, midway between this mound and the river bank ; and 150 men in the stables close upon the river bank. All these posts were gradually strengthened by the Engineers, and were of much use. Sir T. Metcalfe's house would have been previously occupied, had it not been for the difficulty of providing a complete relief for the picquets, and after its occupation it sometimes was impossible to carry out the daily relief. The flagstaff tower continued to be held by 100 men with two guns, and at night the sentries from this picquet and the mound picquet in the Metcalfe garden communicated.

The attack at the flagstaff had hardly been repulsed when other bodies of insurgents advanced upon the Hindu Rao picquet, and through the Sabzi Mandi suburb into the gardens on the right flank of the camp. The first of these attacks was not serious, but the latter threatened the mound picquet, and supports of all arms had to be moved up. The 1st Fusiliers, under Major Jacob, then advanced, and drove the mutineers out of the garden, killing a considerable number of them. While these operations were in progress we were threatened at other points ; but all our posts had been reinforced, and no sort of success was anywhere gained by the enemy. By 8 A.M. they had been everywhere repulsed, with heavy loss.

Two results followed upon the daring attacks made on the 12th, and the experience that had been gained of the superior range of the enemy's guns. In the first place, not only the fighting troops but also the servants and camp followers had gained confidence. They had discovered that the mutineers were always beaten, and had also found profit in the killing of them.

So many treasuries had been plundered, and the proceeds divided among the mutineers, that nearly every dead sepoy was found at this time to have a number of gold

mohurs, equal to seventeen rupees each, in the net purse carried round his waist. One rifleman obtained eighty gold mohurs (136*l.*) in this way, and from eight to ten or twelve pounds' worth of gold on a sepoy was not uncommon.

The second consequence might have been more serious. Sir H. Barnard, finding that he could neither besiege Delhi effectually nor keep down its fire upon his picquets, was induced to agree to an assault, although he could not muster more than 1,800 infantry for it, and the results of failure would have been disastrous. The attempt, however, as we shall see, was abandoned.

June 13.—In addition to the confidence inspired by success, the British were buoyed up by reports of dissensions in the ranks of the enemy and by the rumour of the approach of a relieving force.

In Delhi [wrote Norman to his wife] there is said to be much distress. The wounded sepoys, some 2,000, are crying for water and attendance. The corps that have been longest there will not come out to fight, but always insist upon the newly arrived regiments attacking us, and whatever force comes out against us, besides heavy losses by death, is usually reduced by men who make off for their homes.

On the other hand, he says:

Our native troops are splendid. We had only 243 men in hospital yesterday, of whom all but ninety were wounded, so that our sick are few, and if we can only take the place before the rains come on, we may avoid much sickness . . . The Cossid left Aligarh on the 12th, and says that a European corps (perhaps the 84th) was there, and we hope that before many days are over there may be two, if not three, European regiments a few marches off on the other side of Delhi.

The rumour was of course false, and was due

to the fact that a few volunteers of European cavalry had advanced from Agra to Aligarh, but it served to increase the confidence of the troops, and Norman, believing it, thus writes to his wife on June 14 :

> Our council of deliberation consists of General Reed, Sir H. Barnard, Becher, Brigadier Wilson, Greathed, who takes the lead a great deal in all engineering matters, and myself as Adjutant-General, with sometimes Congreve and Curzon. Do not mention, please, what I am going to tell you. We have been discussing various plans, for it is evident that our artillery fire will not subdue the place, but I hope some other means will be devised for its capture ; and, if we take it, will it not be an achievement for our little force of 2,000 effectives to take a place held by 12,000 to 15,000 regular troops with numerous artillery ? It will be something to be proud of, and, God willing, we will do it. The mutineers have a few Enfield rifles, with which they use greased cartridges. This is a fact.

The project here hinted at was frustrated by the fact that after two columns had been told off for the assault and the powder bags prepared, it was found that the picquets had not been withdrawn in time for the men to rejoin their regiments before daylight. Norman, in referring to that incident, speaks of ' the mistake of a superior officer,' but Sir Evelyn Wood accounts for it by the fact that General Graves had not been properly instructed, and declined to act on a verbal order to send away all the Europeans on the ridge. Be that as it may, the result was fortunate. For the attempt was deferred, and the events of the next few hours showed that the besiegers could do no more than defend their own position.

June 14.—On the 13th and 14th it was observed that the enemy's cavalry were beginning to threaten

the rear of the camp in an unpleasant way. News of panics at Simla also came in, and the uncertainty of communications with the outside world tended to make the responsible authorities at Delhi more cautious as to the risks they might run. It has already been mentioned that there was no telegraph between Ambala and Simla, while the line between Delhi and Ambala was destroyed. The besieging force, therefore, had no means of communicating with Meerut, Agra, or any place beyond. The wires from Peshawar, broken at Karnal by the mutineers, had been restored as far as Lasauli, within three marches of Delhi, and messages travelled thither by sowars or dak. Letters were sent every day by mail each to Ambala and Lahore, whence they went to Karachi and Bombay, and so on to Calcutta. Occasionally special measures were taken to despatch letters by messengers to Agra, from which place they sometimes made their way to Allahabad and Cawnpore, but no reliance could be placed on their reaching their destination. The General in command at Delhi was therefore for the most part ignorant of what was occurring in the lower provinces, and this necessarily restrained his action.

It was fortunate, at any rate, that the project for taking the city by assault had to be given up, for on June 17 the besiegers realised that their position was still very insecure, and that their rear needed guarding. The rebels led up to the attack of the 17th by a series of operations intended to tire out their foe.

June 15.—On June 15 they fell upon the Metcalfe picquet, but were repulsed with heavy loss.

June 16.—On the following day they indulged

in artillery practice, many of their shells falling in the camp, while the British guns could rarely be fired during the daytime, they being almost too hot to touch. But in view of these signs of activity the wise precaution was taken of strengthening the Metcalfe position.

June 17.—On the 17th it was discovered that the enemy were throwing up a battery on high ground near the Idgah, where the ridge continued on the other side of the road to Karnal, whence to enfilade the right flank of the British position. By and by the attack commenced in real earnest.

When their battery opened fire matters looked serious, and one shot which passed through the portico of Hindu Rao's house killed Lieutenant Wheatley of the Sirmur battalion, a Carbineer orderly, and five Gurkha soldiers, wounding five other men. The commandant of artillery reported that our batteries could not be held if the enemy succeeded in completing and holding this work, so at 4 P.M. two columns moved out, one under Major Tombs of the artillery, and the other under Major Reid of the Gurkhas, two of the best officers in our force. Tombs took the four guns of his own troop of horse artillery, a few sappers, and Guide cavalry, two companies of the 60th Rifles, and four companies of the 1st Fusiliers. He completely put to flight a considerable force of the enemy, and captured a 9-pounder gun. Tombs himself was hit in the arm, and had two horses shot under him, making five horses shot under him since he took the field, less than three weeks previously. Captain E. Brown of the Fusiliers was dangerously wounded, two men of the column killed, and nine wounded. Tombs brought back his men about dusk in capital order, and formed them up in front of camp as if on a garrison parade before dismissing them. He also brought back the gun, and as it was the first captured since the 8th, there was much enthusiasm in the camp. Later on I met Tombs at the Artillery mess, and just as dinner was over Sir Henry Barnard came in to thank

Tombs in person for the way he had carried out orders. Major Reid had done good service also, and with the loss of one killed and five wounded had destroyed a newly constructed battery and magazine at the gates of three serais.

There were no war correspondents in the Delhi camp, but in the true spirit of Homer's heroes, while

> The Greeks had none to hearten them, their hearts rose with the war.

On the other hand, if the events of the 17th were of good omen to the besieging force, the rebels, too, had cause to rejoice. For the mutiny at Nasirabad had brought them on that day large reinforcements, including the 2nd Company of the 7th battalion of Native Artillery, Abbott's famous gunners, with the guns that had won such glory under Sale at Jalalabad—the guns on which was engraven the mural crown authorised by Lord Ellenborough. When Lord Dalhousie visited the Punjab in 1851 he made a special point of inspecting this battery at Buddi Pind, and noted in his diary the pride with which the native gunners cherished their guns and the memory of noble services performed for the British raj. How little did the great Proconsul foresee the use to which they were to be put! These services were now in the short space of six years at the disposal of rebels; these same guns were turned upon those whose trust had been so implicit in the comrades they had trained to arms. Small wonder that with sad heart Norman wrote, 'No doubt the guns are being served and directed by several of the men who won such honour by their brave and loyal service in Afghanistan fifteen years before.'

June 18.—On the next day further news of a distressing character reached the camp from Shahjahanpur. A friend of Norman's, with his wife and some other officers who had escaped from the mutiny which broke out there on May 31 during church time, were shot down by their escort a few days later. They had trusted in the sepoys of the 28th N.I. almost to the last, and when they saw that their own men were disposed to mutiny they steadfastly remained with them from a sense of duty. They were all shot, men and women together, while kneeling in prayer! The news sent a thrill of horror through Norman's heart, but his first impulse was not one of revenge. The pity of the thing moved him, and in his grief he even made excuses for the Sepoys. 'To think that he, so frank, so just, so proud of his men, and whom I believe they loved, should have been murdered by them is incomprehensible: but in truth he was a victim to a madness which had seized upon the Sepoys.' Misfortunes never come singly, for the same post brought tidings of disquiet at Simla, and panics that were alarming to those he loved, 'notwithstanding the good example set by the civil officer, Lord William Hay.'

June 19.—The morrow opened with a succession of assaults which 'even the dullest person could hardly look on as mere sorties, and they were calculated to make us doubt whether we were the besiegers or the besieged.' The fact was, that as fresh regiments of mutineers arrived in Delhi, they brought news unknown at the camp of the suspension of the civil administration, of fresh massacres of officers in cantonments, of reliefs unable to make their way to Delhi, of a popular conviction that the Company's rule was at an end. Elated with this

intelligence the new arrivals had not yet experienced the stubborn character of the British resistance, or the depth of loyalty inspired in the native troops by the soldierly qualities of their officers and by the unflinching pluck of their countrymen in the ranks. Ignorant of these forces, and impelled by the desire to distinguish themselves, the rebels from Nasirabad with others moved out of the city on June 19, and passing through the wooded suburbs on the right of the British position, wheeled round and presented a formidable array near the Ochterlony garden, about two miles in the rear facing the camp. Other bodies at the same time threatened the front, and it was obvious that a very severe crisis had to be met. What followed is thus related by Norman.

As soon as the enemy showed in the comparatively open ground in the rear, the available Horse and Field Artillery and Cavalry (twelve guns and about 400 sabres) moved towards them, under Brigadier Hope Grant, and a sharp action ensued. As the fire became heavy, the portion of the 60th Rifles in camp was sent in support, and they were followed by some other infantry, mainly of the 2nd Fusiliers, but as attacks were threatened at other points, the whole of the infantry sent did not exceed 400 men. Before they came up, the enemy's infantry, from some gardens and other cover, shot down our artillery men, while the insurgents' guns kept up a remarkably quick and well-directed fire, so that it was found absolutely necessary for the cavalry, consisting of a portion of the 9th Lancers and of the Guide Cavalry, to charge the enemy. The charge was most gallantly delivered, the two corps being led by Lieutenant-Colonel York and Captain Daly. The former very gallant and respected officer was killed, and the latter severely wounded. When the attack in the rear developed itself, I obtained permission to proceed to that part of the field, while the Generals remained in a central position near the camp, for it was anticipated that at any moment the

front picquets, which were threatened, might be seriously attacked. It turned out, however, that no real attack was made except in rear. When I reached our guns it was nearly dusk; the infantry had come up and a smart artillery duel was going on. The fire from the enemy's artillery was sharp and heavy, and a shower of musket-balls fell among our guns, which were scattered in divisions of two guns, or in half-batteries, at some distance from each other. After dark one of our wagons was blown up, and not being far from it at the time, I have a vivid recollection of the appearance of the men around the wagon running in different directions as the explosion took place and lighted up the space around. That any of the cavalry or artillery escaped seemed to me a miracle, and as sixty horses were killed or wounded it will be seen that the fire of the mutineers was very effective. Gradually the fire ceased on both sides. Our infantry was too weak to attack the long line of the enemy, and the latter showed no inclination to come on, so about half-past eight o'clock our troops returned to camp, the mutineers' fire having previously altogether ceased.

In the darkness and confusion, and with batteries broken up, a gun of the 9-pounder Horse Artillery troop, the horses of which had been for the most part shot, was left on the ground, and the officer in command of the troop, Lieutenant H. P. Bishop, now found himself, as it were, abandoned and unable to bring away this gun. He came back to camp, and went at once to the tents of the 1st Fusiliers, and asked some of the men to help him to drag the gun in. He had at once plenty of volunteers, and took them out. They found all quiet and the gun where it had been left, whence it was dragged back to camp.

June 20.—On the following day General Hope Grant, who had had a horse shot under him and only escaped capture by the devotion of two men of his own regiment, Privates Hancock and Purcell of the 9th Lancers, and two native orderlies of the 4th Irregular Cavalry, went out at daylight to survey the field of battle, and found a 9-pounder gun and

two ammunition wagons abandoned by the enemy. These were brought into camp. A number of dead bodies still lying about showed that the disloyal Jalalabad gunners had suffered severely. Hardly had he returned to camp when the rebels renewed their attack upon the rear of the British lines. General Wilson at once moved out and drove the enemy across the canal. These two engagements, however, had entailed heavy loss to the British, three officers and seventeen men being killed, and seven officers and seventy men wounded, among the latter being Colonel Arthur Becher, Quartermaster-General. It now became evident that the line of communication with the Punjab was threatened, and that the reduced force upholding the British flag must defend itself not only in front and on the flanks, but in the rear. A battery of two 18-pounders was therefore constructed behind the camp, and picquets of cavalry and infantry posted at it. It was inevitable that this fresh danger should be felt in the camp, although Norman adds,

I do not think it had any really depressing effect, but it shook the nerves of the Jind contingent of whom fifty horsemen had taken part in Grant's attack upon the rear of the enemy on June 8, and it was thought advisable to remove the corps to a distance. The Raja of Jind [writes Norman] had been with us from the commencement, with his force of fine Sikh soldiers, and the Raja himself, a splendid specimen of a Sikh chief, was loyal to the backbone. He was, however, not a soldier, and finding that his camp, which to entail on it as little risk as possible had been encamped in our rear, was fired on by the enemy's artillery posted still further in our rear, and fearing that if an attack in rear was renewed and our picquets driven in, his camp would have been first entered, he was not happy, and it was thought, after some consideration, wiser to put him and his men more out of harm's way. Accordingly

the Raja's force, with three European officers attached, was moved to Baghpat, on the river Jumna, about fifteen miles in our left rear, where we had a bridge of boats, by which a circuitous and rather insecure communication was maintained with the little garrison at Meerut. Some levies held the bridge, and had been defeated by insurgent villagers. These latter, we believed, would retire before the Raja's force; and, in fact, the bridge was restored, and we hoped would be held securely, unless a force of regular troops came to attack it.

The death of Yule and Alexander and the injury to his friend Daly called forth these remarks from Norman when writing at a later date:

Much grief was felt at the loss of Lieutenant-Colonel Yule. Personally I had a very happy recollection of him. . . . I made a voyage with him up the Ganges when a mere boy in 1844 on my way to join a regiment for the first time. He was then in the 16th Lancers, and as he had seen a good deal of service and was a thorough soldier he won my admiration. Eager as I was for information about war and about many professional matters, he cheerfully answered all my questions and gave me much friendly advice. I always retained a grateful recollection of his kindness, but we did not meet again for eleven years, when I was Assistant Adjutant-General of Division. He was then as charming as ever, and I think, when he fell, every one in camp admitted that we had lost one who, besides being a gallant and devoted soldier, exercised a vast influence for good over all with whom he was brought in contact. He was first severely wounded by a bullet in his leg, and then falling from his horse was killed in the mêlée.

Another officer who was killed, Lieutenant Alexander, of the 3rd Native Infantry, was much regretted. Quite a boy, and of charming appearance and manners, he had arrived at Delhi not many days before with a company of his regiment, escorting a long train of carts with ordnance stores. He trusted his men as much as if they had been of his own kin, and seemed quite crushed when, after his

hot weary march of over 200 miles, he reached a camp where he hoped to see service and was told his regiment had mutinied since he left it, and his company must be disarmed. He remonstrated in vain, and then he sought to find where he could distingish himself; and it almost seemed to me—and I often saw him—as if he would not object to die. That afternoon he went to the rear to join in the fight, and there he fell. His subadar followed him, and when I was back again in my tent this old native officer came to me in tears, saying he was with his officer when a wagon blew up, and in the confusion had missed him; that he sought for him everywhere until our troops fell back, and now he asked permission to go out with a few of his unarmed Sepoys to search for the sahib. He spoke in broken tones and with true affection of his sahib, who, I suppose, was barely a third of his age. I gave permission, and before I had gone to sleep he returned to tell me they had found their officer's lifeless body, and I never witnessed more genuine grief in my life than I then saw in the old native officer and his men. It was a lesson to show the marvellous affection that an Englishman can create for himself in the hearts of natives, and this was by no means a singular case in those days. Daly, who was severely wounded at the head of the Guide Cavalry, was an old friend of mine on the Punjab frontier. He had been adjutant of the 1st Bombay Fusiliers, from which he was sent in 1849 to raise the 1st Punjab Cavalry. . . . Early in May he had joined the Guides to act as commandant during the absence of Major H. B. Lumsden on a special mission to Kandahar, and his wife was staying at my house in Simla when the mutiny broke out. In the unwholesome air of our camp, Daly's wound healed very slowly, and he was strongly urged by the medical men to go away to the pure air of the hills, and was assured he was never likely to be able to lead men in the field again during the siege. He nobly declined to go, on the ground that, if he could not lead the corps, he could daily see the native officers at his tent, and in this way he could maintain a good influence in the corps. To this resolution he adhered, and no doubt his remaining and always taking a cheerful view

of matters had a most beneficial effect on the Guides and on many others to whom his cheery remarks, though suffering a good deal of pain, were a valuable cordial.

June 20 and 21.—The next two days passed not without fighting, but without any serious attacks. The enemy had clearly suffered considerably, and the new arrivals had discovered that they had now to reckon with fearless Englishmen and loyal natives who could not be taken by surprise or shot down unarmed. But in view of the tactics adopted by the rebels it was thought fit to blow up a stone bridge over the canal, which was accomplished by Salkeld, thus compelling their forces to make a detour in their sorties to the rear. It became more and more evident that every precaution must be taken to economise life. Once during the past forty-eight hours an appeal had been despatched to the General for aid, and the only reserve upon which he could lay hands was a troop of thirty men of the Carbineers. It was 'idle criticism,' thought Norman, which afterwards condemned the General for not having foreseen an attack upon his rear and stopped the enemy as he issued from the city. Every movement into the wooded suburbs was observed and instantly reported. But the rebels could conceal their final intentions, and it was 'impossible, with the slender forces at hand, to act until they had shown their line of advance in the open and exposed themselves to attack.' It was out of the question to reduce guards over treasure, magazines, and hospitals in the camp, for there was always danger of treachery on the part of the camp followers, and the irregular troops were not wholly trusted by Europeans or Indians. At all times it was a choice of risks to be run, and with full

knowledge and consideration of them the General in command allowed the attack of the rebels to develop and then proceeded to crush it.

The trials of the first fortnight on the ridge had not damped Norman's courage or taken away from his cheerful spirits. Writing to his wife on the 20th, he fills up the omissions in his letter already quoted.[1]

You would not know me, I think. I do not often look in the glass, but just now I saw myself, and what with exposure to the sun, a beard of three weeks' growth, eyes bloodshot from heat and dust, and want of sleep, I flatter myself I look about as ferocious a fellow as you would wish to see. We shall have a good reinforcement in three days. I never told you of our projected assault, but we were actually under arms for it on the morning of the 13th when an accident frustrated the whole. My belief is that if we had succeeded we should have been in a bad way, for our handful of infantry could never effectually have cleared this large city with its numerous defenders, and meanwhile our camp, wounded, stores, ammunition, etc., would have been at the mercy of their cavalry, for the only force that could be left was quite insufficient for its defence.

The fortnight had brought brilliant successes, but it had also taught its lessons of warning, and these were not forgotten in the following weeks. It had also brought a disappointment to Norman himself. He had written on June 13 with pride to tell his wife that Sir H. Barnard had referred to him in his despatches as 'succeeding to the important post of Adjutant-General in the field,' and had added but for the death of his friend and chief, Colonel Chester,

how proud I should have been under other circumstances to have acted as Adjutant-General in action. My sole

[1] See page 74 above.

desire is to make myself useful to the utmost extent of my powers without reference to prospects. Too many horrors have occurred in connection with these mutinies to allow me hereafter to look back on this period with pleasure.

A few days later General Reed sent for him and showed him a letter from Sir J. Lawrence urging the importance of appointing Neville Chamberlain, who was in command of the Punjab movable column, to succeed Chester. Norman, true to his principles, told Reed that Chamberlain's appointment would of be great service, and give a confidence to the forces at Delhi which he himself could not secure. At the same time Lawrence recommended Nicholson, then in civil employ, for the rank of Brigadier-General with command of the movable column in succession to Chamberlain. Both of these appointments were accordingly made, and the latter gave rise to some heartburnings, since Colonel George Campbell, who commanded H.M.'s 52nd Regiment, serving with the column, was senior to Nicholson. But in Norman's judgment the fact that Nicholson was senior as lieutenant-colonel to Chamberlain, and that the column was made up of Indian as well as European troops justified the appointment 'in the great exigencies of the time, and the peculiar circumstances of the selection.' As to the choice of Chamberlain for the post of Adjutant-General, events occurred which, as will be told in the next chapter, made little difference in the duties discharged by Norman. With the exception of a few days he remained in fact in charge of that important office during the whole of the siege.

CHAPTER IV

A MONTH OF DISAPPOINTMENTS

Public impatience at delay in the fall of Delhi—Adventurous ride to Rhai—Jullundur mutineers take part in a severe attack, June 23—Picquets established in Sabzi Mandi—Reinforcements arrive—Neville Chamberlain becomes Adjutant-General—Mutinous conduct of some of the 4th Sikh Infantry—Second project of assault, July 2, abandoned—Norman's ride with a Bengal civilian—Sir H. Barnard's death, July 5—Treachery of 9th Irregular Cavalry and heavy losses, July 9—Unfortunate incident—Further severe action, July 14—Chamberlain wounded—Norman resumes duties of Adjutant-General—General Reed takes sick-leave, July 17—General Gowan undertakes duties of Commander-in-Chief—General Archdale Wilson chosen to command the Delhi force—State of the force—News of the Cawnpore massacre—British defences strengthened.

How easy it is for people at a distance to criticise! No one who is not here knows, and I hope no one will know, till it all is over, the difficulties that beset this force. To my mind no troops have ever deserved better of their country, or could be more ready and willing for any enterprise.

So wrote Norman to his wife towards the close of the period with which this chapter deals, and yet the ignorance prevailing in India as to the nature of the task before the Delhi field force was, a fortnight later, shown in a letter written by the best-informed lady in India. On Tuesday, August 4, Lady Canning wrote :

At Delhi Major-General Wilson commands, but they do nothing but repel attacks. In one they killed a thousand men and wounded many others. Why they dread to assault

we cannot understand. If it had been done after the attack of the 8th [*i.e.* June], our history would have been very different.[1]

Could the Governor-General's wife have known the heavy cost at which the gallant besiegers continued day and night 'to repel attacks,' how neither 'dread' nor despair ever entered into their minds, and what an incalculable service they were rendering to their countrymen besieged at Lucknow, or hurrying up in driblets from the sea to Allahabad, by attracting to Delhi, and containing there, mutinous regiments from so many different directions, she never would have written in that strain. If the assault had taken place after the attack of June 8 history would indeed 'have been very different.' On its scroll would have been displayed not 'victory' but the 'loss of India.' In the middle of July, Norman wrote, 'the total effective force of reliable cavalry and infantry (all our infantry is reliable) is 908 cavalry, and 3,700 infantry; our heavy batteries seldom fire now, in fact our 18-pounder ammunition is almost expended.' And how fared it meanwhile with the enemy? Fresh regiments of trained Sepoys, intoxicated with blood and plunder, were constantly pouring into the city, which at this time had gathered at least 30,000 well-drilled soldiers in safety behind its solid walls. On the other hand one half of the British, who were in a literal sense 'playing' the part of besiegers, was perpetually required to be on duty in the picquets, and those off duty were constantly called upon to defend their position. 'Last night,' writes Norman, 'between 10 P.M. and 4 A.M. I was seven times roused to read

[1] *The Story of Two Noble Lives.* By Augustus J. C. Hare. Vol. II. p. 261.

and answer notes.' The strain upon everyone was superhuman. The loyal natives were as sorely tried as their British comrades. Sikhs and Punjabis alike whispered to their officers that they could not trust the 4th and 9th Irregular Cavalry or the Hindustani companies in their own regiments. Hodson brought in secret intelligence which confirmed these suspicions. While British officers hourly strained their eyes from the ridge in the vain hope of seeing the advance of their countrymen from Cawnpore and Allahabad, while cholera and sunstroke daily carried away their precious victims, and while the shelter of the city on one side and the open country on the other offered every temptation to the native troops to desert, it was truly providential that so many of them were content 'to abide in the ship' that seemed so certain of being wrecked. It was fortunate that to the overwhelming trials which surrounded the besiegers was not added the bitter disappointment of knowing the full measure of public impatience at the inevitable delay in accomplishing their heroic task.

With these comments upon Lady Canning's letter, we may now proceed to follow the course of events as told by Norman's daily letters to his wife between June 22 and July 20.

Each day brought its incidents involving more or less anxiety, and perhaps at no time did things look more gloomy than about the middle of the latter month after the severe fighting on the 9th and 14th of July, following that not less severe on June 23. That the centenary of the battle of Plassey would not be allowed to pass without a determined attack on the British position was fully expected, the more so as the mutineers from

Jullundur and Philur, checked in their course by the gallant action of the civil officer, George Ricketts, had now slunk ignominiously into Delhi. Behind them was coming up a mixed British detachment of about 1,000 men with six guns, partly set free by the outbreak at the former of these places, and partly scraped together from Kasauli and Ambala; and the well-founded presentiment of an impending attack on the rear of the camp dictated the necessity of communicating with the commanding officer, Major Olpherts, so that he might march in time to join hands soon after sunrise.

June 22.—The task was entrusted to Norman, who, setting out at sunset with an escort of four Sowars, and a non-commissioned officer of the 4th Irregular Cavalry, had scarcely got clear of the camp, when he was met by Hodson returning with a party of Guides after a hard day's work. Hodson told him that with such an escort he was going to certain death, that the corps was in constant communication with the rebels, and the troopers would either shoot him from behind or carry him a prisoner into the city. As this warning came from the able head of the Intelligence department it was not to be lightly treated. Norman, however, decided that he must carry out his orders at all cost, though he promised to go at a walk so as to give time to Hodson, who undertook to send after him some of his faithful Guides. The night advanced without the arrival of the Guides, and Norman felt that he must push on at his best speed. But he took precautions against the suggested danger. Calling the Duffadar he bade him ride alongside, on the plea that they might make the time pass more pleasantly by talking. As the officer came up, Norman quietly, but at the

same time taking care that his action should be seen, loosened the pistol in his belt so as to be able to use it in a second. He then felt fairly at his ease, for the troopers behind would hesitate to fire at him in the dark for fear of wounding the duffadar, while at the slightest sign of treachery from them or their officer he would at once shoot the latter. In this way the twenty miles were covered, Norman throughout the conversation being fully alert against any suspicious movement.

Before midnight Norman reached the spot at Rhai where the camp should have been pitched, and found it already struck, while the troops were sleeping in the open air ready to move at a call. His message was delivered, and ere long he was riding back to Delhi by the side of his friend, Charles Nicholson, who commanded the detachment of the 2nd Punjab Cavalry.

June 23.—Before daylight [he writes] we could see shells flying through the air between the ridge batteries, and those of the enemy, a sight which was new to the detachment. One or two halts were made to allow the baggage to come up, and it was bright daylight as we approached the scene of the fight of the 19th, where corpses of the enemy still lay. No enemy stood between us and the camp, and a few Sowars who threatened the baggage from our right flank were sent off by some shells from the Horse Artillery of the detachment. When we reached camp we found an attack still expected, though there was then no sign of any enemy in force outside the city. This did not last long, for our breakfast was hardly over when it became apparent that the centenary of Plassey would not pass over in a bloodless manner, for the rearguard of the detachment had hardly reached camp when a furious cannonade was opened from the city walls, while guns that had been brought into the suburbs opened on our right and kept up a heavy enfilading fire on Hindu Rao's

house, which the few guns we had in position were unable to silence. The mutineer infantry occupied the Kishanganj and Sabzi Mandi suburbs in force, and threatened to advance on the mound battery and picquet, while a constant skirmish of musketry went on close to our ridge batteries. The mutineers were checked in their advance, but a first attempt made by portions of the 1st and 2nd European Fusiliers to drive them from the strong posts they had occupied in the Sabzi Mandi suburb failed. Colonel Welchman, 1st Fusiliers, who gallantly led the attack, was dangerously wounded, and Lieutenant Jackson, 2nd Fusiliers killed. The heat was excessive, and many of our men fell from the effects of the sun. The fire, however, never ceased, and it became evident that a great effort must be made to drive the mutineers off. To do this it was necessary to bring up every available man, and the detachment of 2nd Fusiliers and 4th Sikh Infantry, notwithstanding their long hot march, had again to be turned out under a burning sun. To Brigadier Showers was confided the direction of the attack, to be made simultaneously from Hindu Rao's ridge and from the low ground in its rear. It was entirely successful, and the enemy, withdrawing their guns, retired into the city, having suffered considerable punishment.

In this action we had one officer (Lieutenant Jackson, 2nd Fusiliers), thirty-eight men and four horses killed; three officers wounded (Colonel Welchman, 1st Fusiliers, severely; Captain Jones, 60th Rifles, severely; and Lieutenant Murray, Guide Corps, severely), 118 men, and eleven horses wounded and one horse missing.

The detail with guns on picquet at Hindu Rao's (two 9-pounders of Major Scott's battery), under command of Lieutenant Minto Elliot [now General Elliot], were in a most exposed position throughout the affair, and suffered from the fire of heavy artillery in front and flank; one gun was disabled, and no less than fourteen of the horses were put *hors de combat*. These guns were worked in the most gallant and determined manner. Although only four officers were killed and wounded, all were officers of value, and those wounded were severely hurt and disabled for very

long periods. The loss of the enemy was undoubtedly severe, and according to the best estimates must have amounted to 500 killed. The Jullundur mutineers, as last arrivals, were put in front, and suffered accordingly. A number of the Jind Native Infantry were found killed, and two wounded men of the 61st Native Infantry, who fell into our hands, believed their corps had lost 250 men.

An important result of this day's fight was the establishment of two picquets in the Sabzi Mandi on either side of the trunk road. The British position on the ridge was thus made more secure, and the rebels could no longer pass along the road to the rear of the camp.

I was pretty well knocked up by this affair, for after the day's work of the 22nd I rode forty miles during the night, was in the sun all day of the 23rd on foot or on horseback, and was not able to finish office work before 10 P.M.

June 24.—The 24th passed without anything in the way of fighting except the usual fire from the city and some skirmishes outside it. Yet the day had its incidents for Norman. In the first place Neville Chamberlain's arrival in camp relieved him of the charge of the office of Adjutant-General, though, as has already been mentioned, he had shortly to resume his previous duties, and performed them till the end of the siege. Writing to his wife, he said, 'Chamberlain I like very well, but General Barnard keeps talking to him all day long to the great detriment of business.' A second incident was a piece of service the performance of which Norman was justified as regarding with much satisfaction. The General had been informed that the two posts occupied in the Sabzi Mandi were untenable, and Captain Kemp of the 5th N.I., attached to the 2nd Fusiliers, who was in charge

of them, feared that they would be relinquished. He wrote, therefore, to Norman, as all the officers did when they wanted anything done, urging him to dissuade the General from yielding to the cry for their abandonment.

I at once [writes Norman] rode down to them, and Kemp reiterated his opinion that they were secure and certain to be useful. An occasional shell or cannon-shot struck one or other of the posts, but I entirely concurred with Kemp, and reported to that effect to the General. It would be difficult to exaggerate their value during the rest of the siege ; but [adds Norman, with his usual modesty] they ran a chance of being given up if the officer placed in charge of them had not been resolute and intelligent.

June 25.—The troops had to turn out more than once on this day for attacks actual or threatened, but nothing of importance occurred.

June 26.—On the 26th Walker (afterwards General Walker, C.B., Surveyor-General of India) arrived, bringing news of the doubtful behaviour and manner of the men of the 4th Irregular Cavalry, commanded by Captain Hall, at Panipat, in the rear of the camp, Norman therefore got permission from the General to bring Hall in to take charge of the headquarters of his corps. By these means his life was saved, for the detachment lost no time in joining the mutineers.

Walker [writes Norman to his wife] is sharing my tent. He is a very good fellow, and one must not neglect the rites of hospitality, but there is not room in a hill-tent for two, with my office and constant visitors. I never was better in my life, notwithstanding cares, vexations, and drawbacks of many kinds. But the knowledge that our position is one of some danger and difficulty, as well as honour, is calculated to keep one in health.

Between this day and July 3 reinforcements of artillery, sappers, and the headquarters of H.M.'s 8th and 61st Regiments arrived in camp, raising the effective force to nearly 6,600 men of all arms.

June 27.—There were several attacks delivered by the enemy on the 27th,

these fellows trying to bully us all round. The Bhagpat bridge by which we communicated with Meerut has again been destroyed, the Jind Raja who held it bolting without fighting at all, and indeed before the enemy arrived. Fortunately before it was destroyed a convoy from Meerut crossed, and Charles Nicholson with 100 cavalry is now bringing it into camp. My charger is becoming quite spoilt by the constant whizzing of shot. From being very steady he has become most timid.

The casualties on this day included fourteen killed and forty-eight wounded; while the enemy acknowledged to a loss of 400. The Jind contingent was after this experience posted further from the risk of attack at Lasauli, three marches from Delhi, and there, under the control of C. B. Saunders, of the Civil Service, and Colonel Dunsford, it rendered good service in maintaining communications with the Punjab.

June 28.—At last the long wished for rains arrived, but the result was disappointing. 'We all look drenched, particularly the unfortunate natives who have no tents and the sentries.' Fresh demands were made on Norman's hill-tent, for besides Walker, Packe and 'Fred. Roberts, who arrived to-day,' find welcome shelter in it. The headquarters of the 8th Foot also came in after leaving detachments at Ambala, Philur, and Jullundur, and brought in twenty-one officers and 341 men; while Hodson went out and recovered

some of the boats of the Bhagpat bridge. Captain A. Taylor (afterwards Sir A. Taylor, G.C.B., Principal of Cooper's Hill Engineering College) was directed on this day to take charge of the office of chief engineer, pending the arrival of Colonel Baird Smith, who was employed by the Civil Government at Rurki. The latter was not under the authority of the General at Delhi, but Norman had written to him to say that his services would be much valued, and he at once complied with this request and joined the force on July 3.

June 29.—On the 29th the line of communications was further secured by sending Charles Nicholson to Alipur, one march towards Karnal, with a squadron to keep the roads clear. The day passed with nothing more than the ordinary desultory fire, and Norman found time to write and cheer up his wife.

Though I have been out of doors or writing for the last seventeen hours I do not feel sleepy, and I will employ a little time in writing. Never mind what you hear from others who write up every report to Simla. The best way is not to look for very good news. We are made I fancy (particularly soldiers) for adversity as well as prosperity, and he is the brave man who can bear both. We have a very small force for the work required of it, and many difficulties to contend against. But as for desponding of the result, there is no doubt whatever, though perhaps it may not come in the particular way we anticipate. I took young Roberts round our position and batteries this evening, and though I was able to introduce him to the sound of round shot, the enemy's batteries were more silent than I ever saw them before.

Chamberlain as Adjutant-General retains his rank as Brigadier-General. I shall receive no extra pay as Adjutant-General, and would not for the world have asked leave to word the orders so as to give me additional allowances

so I simply wrote 'Lieutenant Norman, Assistant Adjutant-General, will conduct the duties of the Adjutant-General's department at headquarters until further orders.' Write home always *via* Bombay.

A little later he writes :

What nonsense the newspapers talk! They call the affair of the 19th a 'surprise.' Why, we watched the enemy for hours before the attack commenced, and were prepared to repel it, but of course on all these occasions we are embarrassed by having to hold every point of our extensive position at the same time with a small force.

June 30.—Norman's guests had not long to wait for an introduction to something more than the sound of round shot.

In the skirmishing this morning Packe, attached to the 4th Sikh Infantry, was severely hit in the ankle, and has been brought to my tent. He has had a narrow escape and is in some pain, but the ball was taken out. A most provoking thing has just occurred. Twelve elephants were most foolishly taken to break down walls in the suburbs without any escort, and were carried off by the enemy. It is nearly a third of the elephants with the army. . . . Yorke of the 3rd Native Infantry (adjutant of the 4th Sikhs) who was wounded, is not expected to live, and Blair[1] of the 2nd Europeans (Fusiliers) can hardly survive. At 4 P.M. I accompanied a force of six guns, about 600 European infantry, and a troop each of Carbineers, Lancers, and Guides to dislodge the enemy from a position they had taken up in the suburbs on our right, and where they were throwing up a sand battery to enfilade our batteries. They bolted before we could get there, so we brought away the bags and tools.

Packe's injury called for inquiry, and led to the disarmament of a portion of the 4th Sikhs,

[1] Colonel Coghill writes: 'Blair was shot while carrying an armful of ammunition to his men. The wound tapped an abscess in his liver and saved his life. He died in 1907.'

who had arrived in camp on June 23 in time to take part in the fight on that day. The incident was grave, and a full account of it is given in the following extract from Norman's narrative :

The corps, though nominally Sikh, had a considerable proportion of Hindustanis, but at first no one thought much of this leaven. However, a few days after their arrival, Hodson came to me with a Guide Sepoy and asked me to listen to what the Sepoy had to say. He declared that in a skirmish in the suburbs he had seen men of the 4th Sikhs hanging back and then deliberately firing at the backs of the Europeans. After much examination of the man we could not but believe that there was possibly truth in what he said, but we both felt that the consequences might be so serious—and indeed so fatal—if the notion got abroad that a portion of our losses among the Europeans were owing to the treachery of our natives, that we determined to keep silence and watch for ourselves. On the 30th I became convinced that what the Guide Sepoy had said was true. Packe had been kneeling behind a stone breastwork with some of his men, and with the enemy in front, when he was shot through the ankle, which was quite protected from the enemy ; and the surgeon at headquarters, who at my request specially examined the wound, said the bullet must have come from the rear. Then, again, the adjutant of the regiment had been shot through the back. Other circumstances, too, had occurred to throw doubts on the loyalty of a good many men of this regiment, and the General ordered very summary measures to be taken. After a brief investigation on July 1 the men implicated were executed, and the Hindustanis, a fourth of the regiment, were disarmed and sent out of the camp. . . .

Two Hindustani native officers of Nicholson's squadron of Punjab Cavalry and two men of the 9th Irregulars also were executed on July 1 for downright treason. One of the native officers of the Punjab Cavalry was an officer of distinction, and it was pitiful to see Charles Nicholson's unhappiness when he gave evidence against a fine soldier, who had been his warm friend and comrade

for eight years, and whom he had struggled to believe innocent. The trial was over in a few minutes, and a troop of Carbineers was at once paraded to secure the execution from interruption by any of the numerous Hindustanis in camp. The men met their fate without a murmur.

July 1.—The first day of the new month brought some very valuable additions to the camp. Donald Stewart (afterwards Commander-in-Chief of India) had made good his escape to Agra after the mutiny of his regiment, the 9th N.I., at Aligarh. Thence he had returned with a party of volunteers and retaken Aligarh, only to fall back on Agra in the face of larger bodies of rebels. This time he had sallied forth, without escort or provisions, to force his way through the insurgents and carry despatches to Delhi, which he reached after many adventures, and only by making a long detour. He had taken part with Norman in frontier expeditions at Peshawar in 1852, and was a valued friend. He was at once appointed Assistant Adjutant-General to the field force. Almost simultaneously the headquarters of the 61st Foot marched in from Ferozepore, and it was reported that Major John Coke was near at hand with stores and ammunition. He arrived, in fact, on the following morning with his regiment, the 1st Punjab Infantry, 700 strong. Stewart's appointment released Norman of most of the field duties of his department, and he was directed to associate himself as military staff officer with the engineers Taylor, Greathed, and others, in drawing up details of an assault which it was proposed to carry out by four parties advancing upon four different points of the city. The total force of infantry available for this enterprise was 3,000 men.

Meanwhile, however, the Rohilkand mutineers had succeeded in crossing the Jumna, and although the country from the Kumaon hills to Delhi was thus left clear, the accession of numbers put fresh heart into the mutineers in the city. For this and other more weighty reasons this second assault was dropped, as told in the following letter.

July 2.—We were to have stormed to-night, and as as far as I was concerned all was ready. The risk I acknowledge was great, and we should have had to trust a good deal to fortune. However, risks must be run nowadays, but a heavy storm and one or two other things have tended to induce the General to postpone any attack. . . . We have information that a grand attack is intended to-morrow, and if it takes place we may do a good deal towards reducing them in such an affair.

It was well that an attempt to take the city by storm was not made, for without running that risk the British soon found considerable difficulty in merely holding their own position.

July 3.—'About 5 P.M. yesterday (*i.e.* July 3), a large force left the city, so large that it took an hour and a quarter to come out of the gates. They moved far away to our right through the suburbs, and we had to move troops to our rear and right to repel attack.' But the rebels, after keeping the whole force under arms, went off to Alipur, and compelled the officer in command of the cavalry there to fall back. Hopes were then entertained that the mutineers might be intercepted on their way back to the city. Coke was accordingly sent off at 3 A.M. with a force of 320 cavalry and 900 infantry, to which Norman was attached as staff-officer.

We marched two or three miles and then endeavoured to ascertain the enemy's movements. This at first we

could not do, but eventually we found they were retiring on the other side of the canal, and nearly three miles from the trunk road. We moved towards them over a villainously wet country, crossed the canal by a bridge, and at last got the troops into action.

But the rebels, although they numbered 5,000 infantry and 800 cavalry, with seven guns, had no desire to close, and Norman, who had looked forward to 'fighting with the 61st and Coke's corps like old times,' was disappointed at the 'sorry affair of the Bareilly mutineers.' He returned to camp and was soon 'buried in correspondence' in his tent. From this he was roused by a report that the enemy had been reinforced and were attacking Coke. He therefore obtained permission to ride out again.

As I was starting a gentleman rode up and asked if he might go with me as an orderly. I gladly assented, for the presence of an English gentleman added greatly to my feeling of security. I had an orderly of the 4th Irregular Cavalry who always followed me. He seemed a faithful individual, but considering that he had a carbine handy with which to shoot me in the back, that the men of his regiment had already murdered their adjutant, that a large portion of the corps was serving against us, and that desertions from the remainder were frequent, I could not feel implicit confidence in my attendant. I therefore welcomed my English volunteer who was well armed, fairly mounted, and evidently no novice in the saddle or with his arms. In fact he was a Bengal civilian, Mr. Palmer, who had recently joined our camp, and who held a commission in the Essex Yeomanry, whose arms and appointments he wore. I have always felt grateful to him for attending on me this day. We had a hot ride out, and when we reached Coke the enemy were in full retreat. The heat was very distressing, and of the men with the four guns of Tombs' troop alone seven were struck down by sunstroke, as also were twenty men of the 61st Foot.

July 5.—Norman's next letter to his wife was less cheerful than usual. He complains of being unnecessarily disturbed at night 'when one hour's sleep is as precious as a fortune,' and was obliged to confess that disorder and plunder reigned everywhere beyond the limits of the camp held by the British. As he was on his way to church parade, it being Sunday, he saw Sir Henry Barnard sitting outside his tent, and to a remark from Norman the old General replied that he did not feel well and was not going to service. At 3 P.M. Norman writes to his wife :

> Sir H. Barnard has just died. His attack of cholera was most violent, and carried him off in a few hours. Anxiety and excitement doubtless predisposed him to such a disease. He was as gentlemanly, hospitable and gallant an officer as ever lived, and if the events of the last two months somewhat unsettled him, that was not to be wondered at. During his attack he had the best medical care and was assiduously attended to by his son and aide-de-camp, Captain Barnard, of the Grenadier Guards, who was devoted to his father. General Reed has now taken personal command of the troops.

But while Norman wrote thus to his wife, he recorded elsewhere his condemnation of a system under which a General who had never served in India could be sent to an important Indian command.

> Of the peculiarities of the native army [he wrote] and the feelings of the Sepoys he, of course, knew nothing, and yet almost as soon as he joined his command he found himself confronted with dangers arising out of the prejudices of the Sepoys. He did his best with energy, good temper, and courage, but it was too much to expect that he could at once grasp all the intricate circumstances by which he was surrounded, and no doubt some mistakes were made.

July 6.—Heavy rain in the night flooded the

camp, but it kept the rebels quiet. Early in the morning a convoy was despatched to bring in treasure sent from the Punjab, which was being escorted by the 17th Irregular Cavalry, of whose fidelity some doubts were entertained. With the treasure came a waterproof coat and leggings sent to Norman by his wife, which at once made him 'the envy of the camp.'

July 7.—Barnard's hospitable tent was no longer available, and a staff mess was started on July 7 for the civil and military officers in the headquarters' camp. Edwin Johnson, Donald Stewart, Maisey, Mactier and about fifteen others composed it, and of them Norman wrote in later years: 'I never heard a desponding remark there or any utterance of which a British officer could be ashamed.' The chief operation of this day was the despatch of a force under Brigadier Longfield to blow up a bridge across a canal at Bussai, about eight miles from camp. It was hoped that by this means the movements of the enemy in the rear of the camp would be much hampered.

July 8.—On the following day news of the mutiny at Jhelum was brought in, but for the moment the rebels continued comparatively quiet.

July 9.—This, however, was only the calm before the storm, and on the 9th, in pelting rain, there followed 'no end of fighting, beginning with a regular dash through camp of their cavalry, owing to the treachery of some of the 9th Irregulars.' The British losses were very heavy, one officer and forty men being killed, eight officers and 163 men wounded, and eleven of the latter missing. The following account is taken from Norman's letter to his wife, dated July 10.

I must now try to give you some account of what took place yesterday.

In the early morning a good many of the enemy turned out and commenced skirmishing at Hindu Rao's. We had information that they intended to attack us with all the troops they could spare from the city defences, and that twenty-two regiments would be employed outside.

It rained so heavily that we thought their intention would be abandoned, but all the troops were kept ready in camp, and Major Reid was reinforced at Hindu Rao's, so that besides the heavy guns in battery, he had two field guns, four companies 60th Rifles, two companies 2nd Fusiliers, the Sirmur Battalion, and the Guide Infantry, besides 180 Europeans in the Sabzi Mandi picquet house on his right flank.

About 9 A.M. the enemy began to show in such force and brought so many guns outside the walls that all our troops were being turned out, and I was riding down to the right of the camp to send a hundred of the 1st Fusiliers to reinforce the mound battery picquet on our right when I found Carbineers, Irregulars, and followers in one stream pouring into camp. I quickened my pace and told the men to fall in quickly, but the mischief was done, and that part of the business was over.

You must know that not many hundred yards from our right there are dense gardens in which nothing can be seen, but to prevent the enemy coming out on that side we have three 18-pounders on a mound with an infantry picquet, and in the open a hundred yards from the mound two Horse Artillery guns with a troop of Dragoons and a few Irregular Cavalry, the latter throwing forward videttes.

The matter has not yet been fully investigated. Most people think that the videttes were treacherous, others consider that our picquet was thrown off its guard and at first fancied the cavalry approaching was a party of the 9th Irregulars, they being in reality dressed in white with black belts like the 9th.

Be that as it may, a few came out of cover first, were quickly followed by more, and the whole then came on at speed.

The Carbineer picquet was taken by surprise, and for the most part fled; the two horse artillery guns were unprepared and ridden clean through, and the enemy's horse rode through the lines of Olphert's troop and of the Native Horse Artillery—it appearing as if their principal object was to carry off the latter.

They did not do much mischief, but caused great confusion, and then turning to their left went off as hard as they could. Several were killed in and about camp, and Fagan of the artillery, running out of his tent, got together some foot artillerymen, ran up the canal bank and killed about fifteen, among whom was a native officer of the 1st Oudh Cavalry. A good many were killed on the whole, but several escaped. Young Hills[1] of Tombs' troop commanded the gun on picquet, and was knocked over and on the point of being killed when Tombs, running from camp, shot Hills' assailant with a revolver. Hills and Tombs then went at another fellow, and the former was severely cut over the head, but Tombs killed the man.

After this we made a general attack on the suburbs, Chamberlain, with the available men of the 8th, 60th, 61st and 4th Sikh Infantry sweeping through the suburbs to come into communication with Reid at Hindu Rao's. As soon as General Reed returned to camp from the mound battery, where he had posted himself (that is, between 1 and 2 P.M.), I went off and joined Chamberlain. The enemy were fairly driven into the city with immense loss. Eighty-eight bodies were counted in one place, and their total casualties cannot have been short of a thousand. Some of them fought most desperately.

Our casualty lists are not yet in, but our loss is heavy—eight officers are wounded, including Hills, Griffiths, and Eckford; and one, Mountsteven, since dead.

Some of the enemy made a rush from a serai at two 9-pounder guns in the suburbs and nearly took them for the moment, some of them actually getting in the rear of the

[1] Now Lieut.-General Sir J. Hills-Johnes, V.C., G.C.B. Hills, having ordered his guns to unlimber, alone charged the leading rebels so as to give his men time. He and Tombs, Thompson, and Turner won the V.C. (see Appendix B).

guns, where they were shot and bayonetted. This was the grandest attack we have had.

Mention has already been made of the suspicion attaching to certain native regiments, and of the measures taken in punishment of overt treachery. The further doubts provoked by the behaviour of the videttes on the 9th now led to the 9th and 17th Irregulars being sent back to the Punjab; barely a hundred men of the former regiment being allowed to remain, and even these were later on deprived of their horses and swords, being employed henceforth as orderlies. Moreover, the 1st Punjab Cavalry on its march to Delhi was ordered to remain at Karnal, sending on a squadron only of Afghans and Sikhs. Fear of mutiny had brought about a dangerous state of feeling among the British troops, and the incident of the 9th led to serious consequences.

In the confusion [writes Norman] of the mutineer horsemen riding through camp, our soldiers, startled in their tents, showed little discrimination, and, on the moment, natives serving us peacefully were assailed by our European troops, and for a short time bullets were freely flying about the camp. Attacked in this way, many followers rushed into the cemetery enclosure for shelter, and before order could be restored some of our soldiers had opened fire over the cemetery wall on the affrighted grass-cutters and other public and private servants who had taken refuge.

The result of this unfortunate incident was the desertion of many valuable camp followers.

July 10 *to* 13.—For the next few days pitiless rain and anecdotes of the attack on the 9th were the chief topics of interest. Tombs was the hero of the camp, varying his usual proceeding of having his horse shot under him by losing ' a lock of his hair,

cut off by a sword, and his forage cap cut through.' Renny, of the native troop of horse artillery, was admired for his coolness and good shooting, he having brought down three rebels with his revolver ; while Hills, as already stated, had alone charged the head of the enemy's cavalry in order to give his guns time to unlimber. Turning to graver matters, Norman reflects upon the fact that at the close of the fifth week of the siege 'our effective force of reliable cavalry and infantry is 908 of the former and 3,700 of the latter.' These numbers did not include the European artillery, 600 strong, but even so they left little margin for accidents, and it was already evident that the comparative quiet on the part of the rebels was, as before, only the prelude to further efforts.

July 14.—A heavy cannonade broke the silence of the night of the 13th, and on the morning of the 14th a considerable body of men issued from the city. About 3 P.M. Brigadier Showers was sent to the suburbs to drive them back. He was followed by Chamberlain, who had with him Norman, Roberts and Walker. What occurred is told in a few graphic sentences written to Mrs. Norman :

> We advanced to drive the enemy from the suburbs with 1,000 infantry and six guns. We twice cleared them out, the second time effectually, but suffered from grape fire from the city walls. Chamberlain was severely wounded, and also Walker and Fred. Roberts, who, with myself, were with Chamberlain. My horse was slightly wounded. It was our twenty-first fight, and, I believe, I was the only officer of the staff engaged throughout that escaped unhurt. I was for some time under heavy fire of grape and musketry. We had sixteen officers and 177 men killed and wounded, including Daniel, and De Brett in the latter.

Among the killed was a native officer who

had served in the 31st N.I. under Norman, and was now Havildar-Major in Coke's regiment. Between him and Norman a warm friendship existed, and, as the latter passed him in the course of the engagement, the Havildar-Major called out, 'Hurrah, Sahib, we are at it again.' The words were hardly spoken when a shot fired from the walls of the city silenced for ever the gallant soldier.

July 15.—Chamberlain's wound now threw back upon Norman the duties of Adjutant-General, which he had so lately relinquished. The fortunes of the field force had 'sunk very low,' and although by recent arrangements the fear of mutiny was now removed, a fresh difficulty had taken its place. 'General Reed in bed and very unwell; Chamberlain in some pain and obliged to be kept quiet; our prospects generally at their lowest ebb': in these words Norman summed up the situation, and having done so, immediately gave his mind to the best means of preparing for the retirement of General Reed, which he saw to be inevitable. It was clear that if Reed had to retire, two steps must be taken. Someone within reach of Delhi must act as Commander-in-Chief, notwithstanding that Sir Patrick Grant was believed to have been appointed to that office by the higher powers, and someone else on the spot must be chosen to command the force at Delhi, although it was quite possible that the Governor-General might at the same time nominate a different person. To take action in these two directions involved serious responsibility. Norman none the less faced the difficulty. He first wrote to Sir Hugh Wheeler at Cawnpore, in French, reporting in full the position of affairs, and expressing the hope that he would

soon arrive with help. He next had an interview with General Reed, who was now aware of Sir Patrick Grant's appointment, and pointed out to him that Delhi was not in communication with Calcutta, but was able to communicate with the army divisions of Peshawar, Lahore, Sarhind, and Meerut, and was regarded by the Punjab Government as the military authority to be addressed on all military matters.

> Combined action between the troops in the different divisions would be impossible unless one military head existed in the Upper Provinces. I therefore suggested that if he had to go on sick leave, the next senior officer in the Upper Provinces should assume military command in those provinces, and I telegraphed and wrote to propose this to General Gowan of the Bengal Artillery, commanding the Lahore division, who was next senior officer in these provinces. I also suggested that the headquarters' staff should remain at Delhi, where we could render useful service, and that we should be in constant correspondence with General Gowan, who could issue his orders through the Assistant Adjutant-General at Lahore.

This suggestion was adopted, and General Gowan replied on July 20 accepting the position. The arrangement was reported also to the Government of India, whose approval it received ; and looking back upon it Norman observed, with some pride at the step taken on his own initiative, ' it answered in every respect ; it was indeed essential.'

So far provision was made for one part of Reed's duties, but it still remained to appoint someone to command the Delhi field force, a command which Reed had taken upon himself after the death of Barnard. Here, too, Norman acted with the same courage and judgment. The following account was written by himself :

As to the command of the Delhi force, there was great difficulty. Really, I do not know that there was any legal authority in a General who was in the position of General Reed, to pass over the next senior officer in the camp, and to desire a junior to assume command, but a somewhat desperate position seemed to demand exceptional action. I believe it is quite clear to any one who was acquainted with the senior officers of the force, that if we were to have a reasonable hope of capturing Delhi, it would not do to let the command fall into the hands of either of the two officers next senior to General Reed. Our mission was to take Delhi, and if we did not capture Delhi within some reasonable period it would be woe not only to us, but to British rule and British existence in India. It was believed that the third senior officer might be relied upon to do all that lay in man to capture the place. Of course, General Chamberlain was, by virtue of his nomination to the temporary rank of Brigadier-General, really the next senior officer to General Reed, but I do not allude to him. He was laid up by a severe wound, and not likely to be able to move to transact business for a considerable period. That most gallant and distinguished officer, if well, would have been hailed by all as fitting successor to the command, but he was not available. The next in seniority were two gallant officers, against whose reputation nothing could be alleged, but they were—one of them from defect of health and consequent want of energy, and the other from inexperience of war or of high command, and from absence of force of character—quite unsuited to carry the siege of Delhi to a successful conclusion. Next came Brigadier Wilson of the Artillery, in whom all had found good cause to place confidence. Therefore, in submitting to General Reed proposals for the command, I felt it my duty to suggest that he should make over command to Brigadier Wilson, and confer upon him, in anticipation of the sanction of Government, the rank of Brigadier-General, which would place him over all effective officers in the camp.

The General assented, though apprehensive that the superseded officers would strongly remonstrate. I suggested the course to be pursued if they did so, but no remonstrance

came. One of them who, as I have said, was in weak health, and whose gallantry on a former remarkable occasion in a previous campaign I personally witnessed, took sick leave, and went to Simla. The other quietly remained in his command of a brigade, and served with assiduity throughout the siege.

A considerable difficulty was thus happily got over, but I must confess that it was most satisfactory to find later on that the arrangements made for the command had only forestalled the action of the Government of India in the same matter.

The history of these arrangements has been told at some length in Norman's own words, not merely because it illustrates his courage in taking responsibility, but also because the facts are not generally known. His action was taken none too soon, for Reed left on the night of July 17 for Simla, and with him went some 300 other sick and wounded for Ambala. Those who had suffered amputation of limbs could not be moved, for, as Norman observed, 'Serious wounds do not heal here.'

July 17.—British prospects had indeed reached low-water mark when Archdale Wilson assumed the command, and it is convenient to quote here Norman's estimate of the value of his work.

He first organised our defensive arrangements so that we ceased to have profitless and useless control in the suburbs, and then initiated arrangements for an active siege, so that on the arrival of a siege train we were in a position to assault, did assault, and captured Delhi. This involved a strain upon his mind and body at a time when he was in very bad health. Above all, he inspired a confidence in the troops that was most needed at this period.

Norman had hardly found time to congratulate himself on the accomplishment of his plans in connection with Reed's departure when a fresh blow

fell upon him in the discovery that so far from Wheeler being able to come to their relief, he and the whole garrison at Cawnpore had been massacred. On the afternoon of July 17 a native who had come from Benares with a despatch was brought to Norman's hut. After listening to a roundabout narrative of events at Allahabad and Benares, Norman, with a comparatively light heart, questioned the messenger

as to how matters were at Cawnpore, and never shall I forget the solemnity with which he said the General and every European man, woman, and child had been destroyed. A thrill of horror passed over me, for his bearing and tone convinced me that what he said was true. He admitted that he had not entered Cawnpore, for, hearing what had occurred, he had avoided the city and cantonment, both now under the control of the Nana, but he had conversed with many people who knew all that had happened. I felt no manner of doubt that he was giving me a true, sad history, but I took him to the Quartermaster-General, Colonel Becher, who, although his wound prevented him from active duty, attended assiduously to all branches of his work that could be performed in his tent or its vicinity. The native, again examined, gave us the same account. We then took him to the Civil Commissioner, Mr. Greathed, and having again examined him, we all three concluded that the garrison of Cawnpore had absolutely perished, and that we might bid adieu to any expectation of reinforcements from below. We had some sad reflections over the massacre of so many of our dear countrymen and countrywomen, many of whom we personally knew; and we thought of the gallant old soldier, Sir Hugh Wheeler, ever devoted to, and proud of, his Sepoys during a service of over half a century, who had now perished at their hands.

There was, however, little time for reflection. We had to settle what to do; and, to avert despondency on the part of the troops, it was agreed that the intelligence must be kept quiet for the present, so that for many days hardly

a dozen people in camp knew of the horrors that had happened.

July 18.—Wilson at the outset of his command had an effective force of 218 European officers, eighty-three native officers, and 6,438 soldiers of all ranks, with 1,841 horses. The European infantry counted ninety-five British officers and 2,484 soldiers, and the cavalry four officers and 196 men. Half the effective force was constantly on guard or picquet duty, while the rest turned out on alarm. At 2 P.M. on this first day of his command Wilson was obliged to send out a force under Colonel Jones of the 60th Rifles to drive the enemy from cover in the Sabzi Mandi, which they had occupied on the right flank of the British position. The operation was successfully performed, but at a loss of one officer and twelve men killed, and three officers and sixty-six men wounded, besides two men missing. In the ranks of the 14th Irregular Cavalry, which, having mutinied at Jhansi, took part in this engagement,

a woman fought and wounded a soldier of the 75th with a carbine shot. She was a very masculine old dame, but was taken prisoner and brought into camp, where she afforded much amusement by her violent denunciations, until a certain officer appeared of whom she expressed great admiration, and intimated her willingness to marry him. It need hardly be said that the officer in question had to endure a considerable amount of chaff.

July 19 *and* 20.—On the two following days the strenuous efforts of the engineers were rewarded by the entire clearance of the cover near our picquets in the Sabzi Mandi, and the completion of a breastwork connecting them with the crest of the Hindu Rao ridge. The 'Sammy House,' or temple, on the city slope of the ridge, the nearest post to the

walls of the city exposed to fire from the Burn and Mori bastions was also greatly strengthened. The enemy threatened more than once to interfere with these operations, but on second thoughts retired without doing much mischief. On the other hand cholera in its most virulent form was again at work.

Writing to his wife on the 20th Norman said,

> Within the last sixteen hours three officers have died of cholera, Lieutenant Rivers, 75th Foot, Lieutenant Ellis, Carbineers (formerly of the 9th Lancers), and Lieutenant Ross, 9th N.I., attached to the Sirmur Battalion. The two former you may remember. The attacks were fatal in a few hours. One hundred and twenty-six sick and wounded left last night for Ambala, including several officers. Altogether we have sent 340, and we have still in camp upwards of 500 sick and 400 wounded.

Here, then, we may leave Norman at the end of the sixth week of the siege in the stricken camp at Delhi, conscious at last of the full force of the mutiny and of the fact that no help could be expected from Cawnpore. But neither the attacks of the enemy nor the losses caused by sunstroke or cholera had daunted his spirit. He reflected that the position of the British had been greatly strengthened by the work of the engineers and by the elimination of Hindustani troops of doubtful loyalty. John Lawrence might be surely trusted to send reinforcements from the Punjab, and General Wilson to hold his ground until they arrived. Although, therefore, he admitted that the prospects of the moment were at their worst, he had no doubt that fortune would soon turn.

CHAPTER V

AWAITING THE SIEGE-TRAIN

Norman's confidence in ultimate success—Constant petty attacks and false alarms—Wilson's letter to Lawrence, July 18—Lawrence's ignorance of the death-rate and disease—Nicholson's arrival and results of his inspection—Continuous attacks of August 11 and 12—Arrival of Nicholson's column, August 14—Idea of assault revived, but rejected—Hodson captures and shoots some mutineers—His action discussed—Mrs. Leeson escapes to the camp—Battle of Najafgarh, August 25—Attack from the city—Arrival of siege guns, September 4—Wilson's general order to the troops—Strength and spirit of the British force.

FROM the end of the sixth week of the operations before Delhi until nearly the end of the thirteenth week, the course of events may be summed up in four words—'awaiting the siege-train.' Wilson, however, did not sit with folded hands. He made every possible preparation for the guns which he received at last on September 4, and urged Lawrence in the strongest terms to send him all the men he could spare. Others, especially the critics in Calcutta, waited with impatience, and attributed the delay in commencing the assault to every cause except the obvious one—viz., that without the heavy guns from Ferozepore no breach could be made in the massive walls of the city. Twice plans for an assault had been made and wisely abandoned. Wilson was determined that on the next occasion the plans should be deliberately framed and carried out as soon as the guns arrived. Meanwhile, the

enemy continued their attacks, the affair of August 1 on the festival of the Id, those of August 11 and 12, and the battle of Najafgarh on the 25th being the most noteworthy.

We may resume the narrative of events by the light of Norman's letters, which possess the priceless value of information at first hand, being written with no eye to the controversies that filled the air when the mutiny was over and led even historians astray.

July 21.—On July 21 he writes :

To-day, the enemy had settled, was to be our last, and sundry Persian verses were composed for the occasion anent horsemen riding dyed in our blood to their horses' girths. But nothing beyond a very feeble demonstration has been made up to this hour. The mutineers fired a good deal yesterday, but did little damage. Captain Greenside, 24th Foot, was killed last night by one of our people owing to a mistake in answering a challenge.

July 22.—On the next day he writes :

We were turned out before dawn this morning by heavy and apparently close firing. I galloped to the ridge to ascertain for the General what was the matter. I found that the firing was altogether from the town, from which they fired with artillery and musketry to their hearts' content at some imaginary attacking party, of course, without the slightest damage save to their own stock of ammunition. Poor Charles Nicholson is very unwell.

July 23.—The rebels, finding that they could no longer pass out with safety through the Sabzi Mandi, came out between the Kashmir Gate and the Metcalfe picquet with field artillery, and attacked the ridge picquets, especially that at the mosque.

Charles Blunt was there with two 6-pounders, and the General went up with his staff, bringing, to reinforce the picquet, 100 more infantry, and two of Scott's guns under

Elliot. They kept up a heavy fire which we could not silence, but by keeping the men under cover of the breast-works we had few casualties. At last Brigadier Showers was ordered to move round by Metcalfe's and take them in flank with a force of six guns, the Guide Cavalry, and 700 to 800 infantry. This was done, and the enemy bolted. Showers had his horse shot under him, Law, 10th N.I., was killed, Colonel Seaton, 35th Light Infantry, severely wounded, and Money may have to lose his leg. I was in the sun from morning to after noon, and what with heat and want of food was half-killed. Our staff mess is a very good one. The members at present are General Wilson, Greathed, the civilian, Becher, Seaton, Thompson, Sir T. Metcalfe, Garstin, Ewart, Edwin Johnson, Stewart, Maisey, Barchard, Low, A.D.C., Turnbull, Low, 9th Cavalry, and occasionally Hodson.

July 24.—His next letter throws light upon the spirit which animated him and his comrades :

Everything is perfectly quiet, so I hope our men will have rest. Wilson is very strict about officers not exposing themselves who are not required to do so, and there is reason, for we cannot afford to lose all our best men. Strictly Seaton should not have been with Showers' column, and his wound—one of our best men—is unfortunate. He insists upon keeping me back, so that yesterday I never got under musketry fire, although we were all under artillery fire for three or four hours. Carrying orders, especially in the suburbs where men can lurk, is a service of some risk.

So Mr. Grant asks for 'my opinion'! My opinion of our prospects is what it has ever been, viz. that we shall go successfully through the business, and be stronger in India than we were before. The people in the city evidently know that their hour is coming, and say that 11,000 Europeans are coming up. Mr. Barnes writes me that the natives think it wonderful we should have done what we have with our army, and half the country in rebellion. There are more troops of the Bengal army in Delhi than ever before ; our position is five miles round and everywhere liable to attack ; their artillery six times as numerous as

ours. We have had to pass through the worst time of the year with European troops in tents, and in fact, have had every seeming disadvantage on our side. Yet, on every single occasion the enemy has been signally defeated. Indeed, *nowhere in fight* that we know of has a single gun been lost. I have never ceased to feel entire confidence that Providence would help us through if we helped ourselves and kept stout hearts, and we shall live to quietly look back on times such as the world never saw in our age and probably may never see again.

July 26.—The seventh week of the siege closed with a ceaseless downpour of rain, but this did not deter 'a tolerable congregation' from attending divine service. A report was received that the enemy were preparing to send out a large force to establish itself behind the camp and interrupt communications with the Punjab. It was therefore decided that Coke and Tombs should take a flying column to dislodge them, and Norman was delighted at obtaining permission from General Wilson to accompany the expedition.

July 27.—But floods of rain prevented the enemy from carrying out their plans, and for the present Norman lost his 'fun.' He was not, however, suffered to enjoy rest, for although the rebels did nothing, they 'made all sorts of vows to attack us on the evening of the 27th, and got together volunteers to lead them.'

July 28.—Again, after a lull, rumours of a movement were afloat, and Norman writes on the 28th :

This morning I had to turn out before 4 A.M. to go out with Coke's column, but we were eventually countermanded. We are sending fifty-two wounded Gurkhas to Dehra to-day. This makes 390 we have sent from the whole force, and we have still 1,116 sick and wounded in camp, including fifty-three officers.

July 29.—The tactics of the enemy in keeping up false alarms were thus not without reward in wearing out the troops, as the next letter to his wife shows.

July 30.—We were to be eaten up to-day, and the mutinous regiments paraded for an attack in the morning, but what with faint hearts and dissensions the whole thing subsided. General Wilson is not well, so we are trying to keep him free from business, and trust he will be all right to-morrow. In the evening I made a complete round of all our batteries and posts with Edwin Johnson. We have become very strong, and one now sees how much credit is due to the troops who held these positions before our batteries and entrenched posts were constructed.

About this time Norman received the letter from John Lawrence, of which so much use has been made by those who have attributed to Wilson an intention to retire from Delhi. This letter, dated July 24, is given in Bosworth Smith's 'Life of Lord Lawrence,' vol. ii. p. 152, together with Wilson's letter of July 18. Wilson had written to Sir John to say that any attempt to assault Delhi with his force must end in disaster, that he must be strongly reinforced in order to hold his position, and 'unless speedily reinforced, this force will soon be so reduced by casualties and sickness that nothing will be left but a retreat to Karnal.' Lawrence at once promised 1,700 men to be followed by 2,000 more, and knowing the characters of Norman and Daly, wrote to them, 'recollect, if you fall back from Delhi our cause is gone,' and 'if we have to retreat, our army will be destroyed.' He also begged his correspondents to show what he had written to Wilson and Chamberlain. The tone of General Wilson's letter is so different from that of Norman's

letters[1] to his wife that the reader will be prepared for the following explanation which Sir Henry in his later days left on record.

General Wilson's letter was sent off before I saw it. An hour or two after it was despatched General Wilson showed me a copy. I at once pointed out that any retirement from Delhi was impossible, that we had no means of moving our sick and wounded, our stores or siege guns; in fact we could only leave Delhi as a beaten army, and at the cost of our most valuable resources, to say nothing of the fearful effect that would be produced by our falling back. A retreat was impossible. General Wilson, after a short conversation, admitted this, and I believe never really contemplated anything of the kind, but gave way to the temptation of holding it out as an incitement to Sir John Lawrence to aid us generously.

Norman obviously was neither cognisant of, nor in sympathy with, General Wilson's rhetorical suggestion of the impossibility of holding the ridge, and in after years he naturally winced at the inference drawn from the correspondence by Mr. Bosworth Smith that John Lawrence was determined 'if possible to make the word retreat to be a word that should not be so much as whispered at Delhi.' The word never entered into the vocabulary of Norman, Coke, Reid, Daly, Probyn, Tombs, Hodson, or any others of the force. Something more must be said in justice to the stout hearts so sorely tried. Norman's correspondence shows that when he wrote to his wife on July 24, Lawrence himself had not fully realised the straits to which the besieging force had been reduced. This is evident from John Lawrence's reply, dated July 30, to a letter he had received from Norman on the subject of the regiments being raised in the Punjab, to which Norman

[1] See letter dated July 24, p. 117 above.

thought that deserving officers at Delhi ought to be appointed.

I will keep [wrote Lawrence] as many appointments open as possible for good officers before Delhi. It is not very easy doing this, for the best officers will not accept a command which they may lose, and when they take it will not always work as they ought to do. However, I quite admit the validity of what Chamberlain and you say. I feel very anxious about you all before Delhi, and I only wish I could help you more effectively. I had no idea that your force had been so reduced. It appears that you have not 4,500 effective cavalry and infantry. I wish you would send me a return of the effective strength of each regiment *now* before Delhi. Has the new corps of cavalry which Montgomery raised for Hodson arrived? I cannot conceive how you have so little cavalry.

There is no slur cast upon the memory of that great man, John Lawrence, in pointing out that at this time he could not know what havoc disease was making in the ranks at Delhi. On July 31 Norman wrote: 'To show the sufferings of our force, I may mention that the headquarters of H.M.'s 8th Regiment arrived 341 strong on June 28, all fine, healthy-looking men. Of them fifty-six died of disease in July.' This was a prodigious rate of mortality. Besides these it lost twelve killed and thirty-four wounded between July 9 and 31.

July 31.—The rain [he writes to his wife] is something fearful, and a great deal of damage has been done to our stores, etc. No earthly power could move guns across country. The enemy's force that went out yesterday are enjoying a good ducking to no purpose. We sent a considerable detachment to Alipur to assist the convoy with the Kumaon battalion. Everything is now in, but Tombs has been taken ill from the exposure, and we can ill afford the loss of his valuable services even for two or three days. The artillery fire was very heavy yesterday, and our right

battery was a good deal damaged. Three men out of thirty in it were killed. I went there in the afternoon in time to see the brains of Major Reid's Gurkha orderly scattered all over the battery. He was standing close to Reid, and is the sixth orderly that has been knocked over in attendance on Reid. I am constantly wet through, and can never get my clothes dry again. I fear our sick list will increase.

August 1.—The rain, however, was sometimes a blessing in disguise. On the following day, the festival of the Bakr Id, the mutineers finished a wooden bridge on the Rohtak road, which was intended to replace that [1] destroyed on July 8, and to enable them to get troops to the rear of the British.

A force [writes Norman to his wife] was accordingly warned (which we could ill spare) to move out to check anything of the sort. A kind Providence interfered, and the canal suddenly rising swept away their bridge (which had been previously prepared in Delhi, and brought out in pieces to be put together on the spot), fragments floating past our camp. Their troops who were out gave it up as a bad job and returned towards Delhi. As they neared the city, several thousands came out to meet them, and the whole together attacked Hindu Rao's about 6 P.M. From that time the musketry fire has never altogether ceased. Our men have been kept admirably under cover.

The long-promised 'Id assault' proved disastrous to the rebels, many of them lately arrived from Neemuch, who lost some 500 killed and wounded, while on the British side one officer and nine men were killed and thirty-six men wounded. The fire both of musketry and artillery was continued without intermission until 1 A.M. on August 2, when Norman, worn out, retired to his tent for a little rest. He was up again at sunrise, and on his way to Flagstaff

[1] See p. 103 above.

picquet met a party of Coke's rifles carrying a stretcher on which lay the body of his friend Travers, 'Putty Travers,' a cheery Irishman, universally popular, who, having passed through Delhi a few hours before the outbreak of the mutiny had afterwards returned from Lahore to take part in the operations. He was now struck in the head by a bullet, which killed him at once.

August 2.—Poor Travers was buried last night. The funeral was attended by Coke and his officers, Blunt, Roberts (who, however, is not yet fit for duty), myself and one or two others. It was a melancholy affair, and Coke is much cut up. Young Lumsden, a splendid fellow, will become second-in-command, and John Davidson, 4th N.I., becomes Adjutant. Peake and Allen, the Simla shopkeepers, are actually setting up a shop in camp.

August 3.—In the afternoon of August 3 a letter arrived from Havelock announcing the appointment of Sir Henry Somerset as Commander-in-Chief in India, and of Sir Patrick Grant as Commander-in-Chief in Bengal. It confirmed the reports received as to the massacre at Cawnpore, stated that Lucknow still held out, and that troops were being rapidly pushed forwards. On the following day came news of the death of Henry Lawrence.

August 4.—Writing to his wife on August 4, Norman says :

August 4.—I had sent to the post a long and cheerful letter to Sir John, when, just in time to stop it, came a cossid from Agra with a copy of a letter from Havelock, dated the 18th, two days after he reached Cawnpore. In it he mentions that Sir Henry Lawrence died on July 4 of a wound received on the 2nd. It is strange that he did not mention this to us in his letter of the 25th, but he certainly in that did not attempt to give us much news. I had to write off the sad intelligence to Sir John, but even

now am unwilling to believe it. The two little Sepoys who took my letter down knew Sir Henry well, and declare that they saw natives from Lucknow who said Sir Henry was well up to two or three days before they left, that is up to July 22 or 23. Time will show. If the story is true we have sustained a great calamity, for no one would have been more valuable in restoring this distracted country to order.

The Sikhs say the road is covered with fugitive Sepoys from this who are plundered and murdered by the villagers. The large villages again prey upon the small ones.

Some of the massacres have been most fearful, but as far as numbers go none are equal to Cawnpore. The 31st appear to have been all right up to July 3. You will probably have seen that poor young Spens was killed in blowing up a fort which some of our men and of the 42nd captured from insurgent Bundelas. I deeply regret his death, for he was one of the best fellows in the corps, and we had been much together in the Santal campaign. The 5th Fusiliers from the Mauritius reached Chinsura nearly a month ago. Will not Havelock be proud of his victories? In his letter to Muir he says :—'With fifteen hundred British soldiers and nine pieces of cannon' he had gained four victories (two on the same day), recaptured Cawnpore and taken twenty-three guns. I hope you had no panic on the 'Id.' Really to be afraid of these Simla *Bazar* people is shameful for *men*. Six officers with their revolvers and swords would annihilate them. By the way, I have a revolver now which Daly has lent me. Sometimes these fellows get into out-of-the-way places and come suddenly on single officers, and a revolver is useful then.

Mackenzie is still laid up with his wound. Indeed, wounds do not heal well in this camp, and as soon as people can move they should be sent away.

August 5.—On August 5 the tables were turned, and the British, seeing how dispirited the enemy were by the failure of their 'Id assault,' threw several shells into the city, and further shook the nerves of the rebels by floating down the river machines

called 'devils,' which were made to explode when they came into contact with the bridge over the Jumna.

August 6.—The mutineers accordingly retaliated on the following day by making several attacks on the ridge, which, though beaten off, entailed a loss of some thirty British killed or wounded, including among the former Lieutenant Brown, and among the latter, Temple, who were attached to the Kumaon battalion. Writing to his wife, Norman said that he believed these movements to be 'mere feints' to conceal more serious operations; and having been called up at 2 A.M. by a sudden attack on the Metcalfe picquet, he soon discovered the real objective. The enemy had thrown up a battery of heavy guns on the British right so as to enfilade the position on the ridge. No time was wasted in meeting this new danger, but the day's work involved a further loss of thirty men killed and wounded.

August 7.—In the midst of these operations, and shortly before a volume of smoke announced the accidental explosion of a powder manufactory in the city, General John Nicholson [1] arrived in camp, having come on by mail cart in advance of his troops, in order to see the position. He found a resting place in Norman's small but hospitable tent, and remained with him until the 10th, when he returned with the information he had gained to lead his men into camp. John Nicholson was quick to learn the lesson which Baird Smith, the Chief Engineer, Chamberlain, the Adjutant-General, and even John Lawrence himself, had by turns been

[1] Sir Evelyn Wood's account in the *Times* of October 5, 1907, gives August 12 as the date of Nicholson's arrival in advance of his column. August 7 was the correct date.

forced to acquire in the hard school of experience. The strength of the enemy and their position, the want of heavy guns on the ridge, the inadequacy of the British force, worn down by incessant fighting, disease, and sunstroke, and the inflexible resolution of all ranks to hold their position until the last of them fell, were at once apparent to Nicholson's understanding. He soon dismissed as groundless the impatient comments of the press and the facile criticisms of distant cantonments and civil stations, which had made too much of the weaknesses of the various Generals commanding the field force, and too little of the indomitable courage and resource of the officers and men who composed it.

August 8.—On the morning of August 8 Norman took Nicholson round one half of the British position, and he could not conceal from his wife the satisfaction with which he observed the effect produced on the mind of his distinguished companion. The inspection lasted till breakfast time, and was resumed in the afternoon ' under a pretty smart fire. I like to see fresh men who come from the Punjab (good and experienced soldiers) when they first go into our batteries. They always look for the first time rather startled at the fire, and somewhat astonished at the cool way in which old hands take it.' Evidently Nicholson discussed with the authorities the vexed question of an attempt to capture the enemy's guns and mortars, which day and night had played upon the ridge.

August 9.—For Norman proceeds in the next letter to his wife to describe the ceaseless cannonade to which the Metcalfe and Stable picquets were subjected on August 9, and to give the result of the deliberations of those in command.

To attack and take all the guns outside would cost us four or five hundred men, and they could bring other guns to the same place the next day; so, as our casualties are light, it has been determined at present to let them fire away their powder as fast as they like. We had twenty-five men hit yesterday (August 9), and just now Lieut. Baillie of the artillery has been wounded by a piece of shell in the right battery, and an officer of the 8th hit at the Sabzi Mandi picquet. Nicholson goes back this evening, and will be in on the 13th [1] with his column which, including the wing of a police battalion and 200 Multani horse, amounts to 2,400 men and six guns.

Norman was not without reason a little sensitive to the symptoms of impatience, which he had observed in the letters received from Simla and even from Lahore. We need not wonder, therefore, at his being gratified by Nicholson's soldierly recognition of what had been done and of the heavy task that still remained. Lawrence also was now writing in a somewhat different strain, and Norman tells his wife, 'I received a letter from Sir John on the 8th, in which, after saying what he was doing to help us in the way of reinforcements, he added, "I fear that even with all these reinforcements you will not be able to storm."' Further, while the heroism displayed at Delhi was but grudgingly acknowledged, successes elsewhere received their full need of eulogy, the outside public not caring, or not being able, to measure the difficulties of the respective positions. Some soreness on this point is to be seen in one of Norman's letters to his wife, where he writes:

From Havelock's despatch, published in the *Lahore Chronicle*, he does not appear to have had the same kind of people to deal with as we have here. Fancy capturing eleven guns and dispersing a large force without the loss of

[1] He actually arrived on the morning of the 14th.

a single European, his troops being almost entirely Europeans.

August 10 *to* 13.—August 10, 11, and 12 all witnessed a succession of harassing attacks and a continuance of losses which, though not numerous day by day, were collectively serious. On the afternoon of the 11th Johnson and Norman went down to the Stable picquets in front of Metcalfe's house, when a round shot passed immediately over their heads. 'I never had a more narrow shave as far as my head and round shot are concerned.' It was necessary on this occasion to send out a force of infantry against the enemy, who had brought six guns and two regiments of infantry with them outside the walls of the city. The spirit with which this operation was successfully performed is thus told in Norman's letter to his wife on August 13 :

The work was entirely done by the infantry who came back in high glee, especially Coke's men drawing two guns home, the first they had ever captured since the corps was raised. The 1st Fusiliers brought in one gun, the men riding the horses and sitting on the gun. The 6-pounders taken belonged to Murray Mackenzie's troop, and although still laid up by his wound he insisted upon being taken to the park in a dooley to see them. Our total loss was 112 killed and wounded, the losses being principally in the 1st Fusiliers and Coke's corps.

Brigadier Showers, who commanded, was shot in the chest, but the ball went round and came out behind. He continued to command as long as there was any fighting. Meanwhile, however, he was again hit, having the top of a finger shot off. Coke, the next senior, having also been hit, Greathed, of the 8th, was sent to take command and conducted the retirement. Notwithstanding his wounds Brigadier Showers rode home as steadily and stoutly as ever. He is a most gallant officer, and on every occasion has shown the utmost contempt for danger. He was

loudly cheered by the troops as he came back. Coke was shot through the thigh in the act of seizing a gun-horse, as the enemy were trying to drive off the gun. The bone escaped, but he will probably be laid up for three weeks or a month. Young Sherriff, 2nd Fusiliers, a stepson of Coke, the editor, and whom you may remember to have seen at Simla in April, had his head cut open by a shell, and pieces of his brain were scattered over his face. He is still alive, but his recovery, though said to be not impossible, is certainly very improbable. The following officers were wounded more or less slightly: Lindsay, Horse Artillery; Maunsell, Sappers and Miners; Greville and Owen, 1st Fusiliers; and Innes, 60th N.I., orderly officer to Brigadier Showers.

Norman's next letter to his wife, written on August 13, proclaims the cheerfulness of a nature which, even after ten weeks of such constant anxiety, refused to be damped.

Nicholson's force comes in to-morrow, and will in some degree lessen the very heavy duties of our force. Yesterday afternoon the enemy opened with all his guns, and particularly favoured the Mosque picquet, which is being bored through and through by shot and shell. They also established a rocket battery at Ludlow Castle. I went with the General to the Mosque to see the 'tumasha,' and while we were there three or four men were hit; Colonel Baird Smith and young Nuthall, who had only two hours before reached camp, were slightly wounded by splinters of rocks. The rockets were very pretty, and not more dangerous, I think, than those we saw at Meerut. Some of them came well over the ridge, and they certainly made a vast noise when passing. This amusement was brought to a conclusion just after sunset by the explosion of the rest of the rockets they had brought out, owing to one going back amongst them, and we have good reason to hope that a few of their artillerymen went up with the rockets.

We rode down to camp just in time to hear the 'British Grenadiers' and one or two other tunes played by a band of 8th and 61st men in the Headquarters' camp. This is the first music I have heard since March. These are the only

two corps who have instruments with them, and joining together they make up some twenty performers. Hereafter we are to have music twice a week, a good thing for all, for the men like it.

Last night three attacks were made on the Metcalfe picquet, and the firing was warm. Our men kept under cover, and each time beat off the Pandies easily. Altogether we were by no means quiet and had very little rest. Young Lumsden was awoke by his bearer this morning, who declared there was a shell under his bed. He jumped up, and in reality found a round shot that had rolled into his tent. Coke is in no pain, the bullet went through the fleshy part of his thigh and came out without hurting the bone. He ought to be well in three weeks. Sherriff is not yet dead, and there is just a spark of hope.

I give you as a curiosity the list of 'receipts' in the park yesterday. These receipts, you must know, consist entirely of picked up shot of the enemy, and when you consider that most of the shells they fire burst, and of course are never picked up, or received as shells, and that many round shot are not found, you will see that we get a pretty quantity of iron sent at us. Yesterday, too, was by no means a day on which the fire was anything extraordinary.

Received in the park on August 12 :—

8	10-inch shells	
3	8	,, ,,
18	5½	,, ,,
9	4-2·5	,,
3	24-pr. spherical shells.	
6	18	,, ,,
3	12	,, ,,
10	9	,, ,,
25	6	,, ,,
52	24-pr. round shot.	
144	18	,, ,,
68	12	,, ,,
82	9	,, ,,
57	6	,, ,,

Total 85 shells and 403 round shot.

August 14.—August 14 marked a turning-point

in the history of the siege of Delhi, for it witnessed the arrival of Nicholson's valuable reinforcements, bringing up the strength of the infantry to nearly 6,000 men. It was natural that with the increase of sickness in the camp and the feeling that little more in the way of making good losses by it could be expected from the Punjab, the question of an immediate assault should be revived. Norman himself was for the moment inclined to side with those who were for hastening matters. Thus, in a letter to his wife, written on August 15, he says :

We hear that in some private letter the Governor-General has expressed his dissatisfaction at Delhi not having fallen. Seriously, now that we have nearly 6,000 infantry I would advocate an attack. The sickly season is coming on, and in a few weeks I believe we shall have one-third of our troops in hospital, and as for Havelock's force goodness knows when we shall see it. Were I commander I would go at the place, but as far as I can make out Nicholson and Chamberlain, two of the most enterprising officers in India, are by no means for this. If they urged Wilson, I think he would go in.

To this letter Norman added a commentary not long before his death, when he had read the accounts that had appeared on the subject of the decisive measures ascribed to Nicholson with the object of compelling Wilson to proceed with the assault.

On the day [he says] that the splendid reinforcements sent from the Punjab, under Brigadier-General John Nicholson, marched into camp, I think it was generally understood that we were only to wait until the siege-train arrived from Ferozepore before we commenced active operations preparatory to an assault. At times some of us desired that the delay should be abridged, and that an attack should be made without waiting for the great train of heavy guns and mortars and endless cartloads of ammunition which

had to traverse 284 miles and pass several unbridged rivers in the rainy season. From my letters of August 15 it seems that I gave way at one time to this feeling of impatience, and I have no doubt that others did the same. I never have had evidence that the two officers next in seniority to General Wilson ever urged him to attack before using the siege artillery. Of these two, Chamberlain was incapacitated by his severe wound from any performance of his duties, but was quite able to give counsel some time before the arrival of the heavy guns. In fact I never heard of anyone in camp advising General Wilson to attack, from the day on which he assumed command until the assault came in natural course, after the effective breaching of the walls and reduction of the artillery fire of the enemy.

August 15.—On the night of August 15, 167 sick and wounded were despatched to Meerut, making 550 men so removed to other stations.

August 16.—The following day had been fixed as a day of special intercession, and during the service the continuous war of artillery and musketry echoed through the church. Norman's next letter refers to an incident that occupies a large space in Bosworth Smith's 'Life of Lord Lawrence.' It is only necessary to remind the reader that when Lord Dalhousie raised the strength of the Guides after the annexation of the Punjab, Hodson's connection with that famous force commenced. Before leaving India, Lord Dalhousie, in a minute dated September 15, 1855, felt 'bound to decide that this gallant and accomplished officer has shown himself unfit to hold the command of a regiment, and to direct that he be placed at the disposal of H.E. the Commander-in-Chief.' When Captain Daly brought in the Guides to Delhi on June 9, after covering the distance of 580 miles in twenty-two days, he had hardly finished a hasty breakfast when

his corps was called upon to repel an attack on the right flank of the British force. In this action Daly and Hawes were wounded and Quentin Battye was killed. It became necessary for the time being to re-appoint Lieutenant W. S. R. Hodson to the command vacated by Daly, although by this arrangement he was placed over men who had witnessed his fall and even given evidence against him. Meanwhile, however, a body of irregular horse was being raised by Montgomery for service at Delhi, and to its command Hodson was transferred upon its arrival there.

August 17.—What then occurred is thus narrated in Norman's letter to his wife, dated August 17.

Hodson had been sent out some twenty-five miles on our right. He came upon twenty-seven sowars of irregular cavalry in a village, principally furlough men of different corps under Rissaldar Bisharat Ali, 1st Irregular Cavalry, whom we believe to have been actively engaged against us about here since the outbreak. He was one of the cavalry to whom the 'order of merit' was given in 1853. Do you remember polishing up the silver star? The Rissaldar came out when he found the village surrounded, and, knowing Hodson, commenced some long story. As he was talking, two sowars tried to escape from the village and got off. Hodson took the Rissaldar prisoner, and then surrounded and set fire to a house into which the sowars threw themselves. They then rushed out, and fifteen were killed on the spot. The remainder with the Rissaldar were drawn up and shot as mutineers.

To this letter Norman added before his death the following note:

The Rissaldar was a very distinguished native officer, but he had failed to come into our camp or rejoin his regiment as ordered by proclamation, and as was incumbent on a loyal soldier. He would probably have been executed

by sentence of a court-martial if Hodson had sent him into camp, which would have been the proper course to follow. It has been alleged under high authority that Hodson was, or had been, under obligations to Bisharat Ali which should have made him very careful to give the Rissaldar a fair trial. Of this I never heard until Mr. Bosworth Smith's work was in the press, and I then said I had never heard a whisper of the circumstance.

August 18 *to* 20.—For the next day or two, nothing definite was heard of Hodson, who had taken with him six European officers, 103 of the Guide Cavalry, 233 of his own newly-raised horse, and twenty-five Jind troopers. He was believed to have reoccupied Rohtak, but on the 19th a report reached the camp that he was cut off by the enemy. General Nicholson accordingly started at 11 o'clock that night with a small force to relieve him. But on quitting the trunk road at Alipur he found further progress barred by the swampy state of the country, and was obliged to return to camp.

We have no positive intelligence [writes Norman to his wife on the 20th] from Hodson, and he has evidently overstepped his instructions. I have no apprehensions, however, for him or his party. He is not likely to be caught napping. A Mrs. Leeson escaped from the city yesterday. She was severely wounded on May 10, the bullet going through her child in her arms and then through her. Both her children had their throats cut in her presence. She was taken compassion on by a citizen, concealed, and her wound cured, and yesterday was assisted to escape. Mrs. Tytler, our only lady, is taking charge of her.

August 20.—On August 20 a letter was received from General Neill at Cawnpore conveying the orders of Government dated July 29, promoting Wilson to the temporary rank of Major-General.

Thus the action taken by General Reed was justified, and Wilson's authority placed beyond question.

August 21. — The Muhammadan festival of Ramazan was now imminent, and intelligence was received that an attack would be made by the rebels on the night of the 21st.

August 22.—But they changed their minds, and on the following day their ardour was damped by some well-placed shells which fell among their forces as they advanced from the city. Hodson, who had made his way back to Delhi after achieving several successes, was directed to remain outside the camp, and if possible to intercept the 10th Cavalry who had recently mutinied. One noteworthy incident of the day is thus described by Norman. 'The enemy drove an elephant out yesterday to try and make it drag a tree over an exposed road to block it up, as they were afraid to cross it. Fagan fired with an 18-pounder and hit the elephant in the side, dropping it into the canal which runs into the city.'

August 23.—The 23rd passed without any event of importance, and on the next morning Norman wrote :

> Roberts is off the sick list, and went with me to-day all round our batteries and advanced picquets. We are throwing forward works in anticipation of the arrival of the heavy guns. The working party only work at night, but before they withdrew this morning they received a shower of grape from the 'Mori' guns which wounded six of them.

August 24.—On both sides now attention was turned to the approach of the heavy guns on their way from Karnal, and minor operations were suspended in view of the important attempt that was sure to be made to intercept them. Fever and

cholera meanwhile continued their ravages, and in these depressing circumstances Norman reverted to the unfair criticisms which letters from home contained. To his wife he writes on August 25 :

Men like Sir . . . do much harm by talking of the certainty of the fall of Delhi. Lord Ellenborough even, although his speech is for the most part capital, says all we have to do is to surround Delhi and starve the people ; the fact being that the city is seven miles round and would require 100,000 men to invest it. He says also that all we need is to cut the canal which runs into the city, and bar access to the Jumna. The former we did ages ago, and how to do the latter we should be glad to learn.

August 25.—Yesterday we heard of a large force of the enemy with guns going out to Bahadurgarh, twenty-one miles in our right rear. Nicholson left this morning (25th) to see after them with the movable column completed to sixteen artillery guns, 500 cavalry, including 100 Europeans, 1,600 infantry of whom 800 are Europeans. This is a very large hole out of our force, and may embolden the troops in the city to attack us. I only wish it would.

The wish was fulfilled on the next morning ; but it is necessary first to follow the movements of Nicholson. For twelve weary hours his force trudged through the marshy ground before they came up to the rebels, 8,000 strong, chiefly composed of the Neemuch brigade, who had taken up a strong position in two villages and a serai protected by guns and deep water. Nicholson at once attacked and carried the position, taking all their thirteen guns and killing 800 of them at a loss of sixty killed and wounded.

Lumsden, of Coke's corps, as fine a fellow as his brother, was shot dead. Coke's corps came here with six officers : all are *hors de combat*, Travers, Lumsden, and Law killed, Coke and Pollock severely wounded, and Lambert floored

by sickness. Young Nicholson will be sent to command them, leaving a good officer, Probyn, to command his squadron. Dr. Ireland,[1] of Blunt's troop, was, it is believed, mortally wounded, and Lieut. Gabbett, 61st Foot, severely wounded, while Lieut. Elkington of the same regiment was killed.

August 26.—Meanwhile a report reached the city to the effect that the whole available British force was fighting on the other side of the Najafgarh canal, and the rebels at once took courage and proceeded to attack the picquets.

Out they came [writes Norman], and at the first alarm I went up to Hindu Rao's and with Major Reid saw them marching in immense numbers with six field guns. They attacked our right and front, but were repulsed time after time in the usual manner. Since 3 P.M. their efforts have been contemptible. They showed no pluck whatever, but eight of our people were killed and twelve wounded by chance shots. . . . I then rode out to meet Nicholson's force returning. They were much knocked up by two days long marching through swamps, but were all 'khoosh' (happy), and many had, as we know, their pockets full of rupees. The bands of the 8th and 61st Foot went out and played them in to the tune of the 'British Grenadiers.' The 2nd Punjab Cavalry, under Green, behaved capitally, the first time they were ever opposed to guns. Nicholson deserves much credit for the affair.

August 27 to 30.—Unfortunately the mischief caused by the rain was not confined to the swamps which Nicholson had to traverse. The Narkhanda river rose, and the siege-train could not cross. The rebels, however, were too dispirited to do more than indulge in their customary cannonade for the next few days, which, during the night of the

[1] Dr. Ireland, of the Bengal Horse Artillery, still survives, but had to retire, his left eye having been carried away by a piece of shell, which went out at the side of his head.

28th, was supported by a continuous fire of musketry. On the following night a working party was sent out to cut down trees in front of the British position.

To do so [writes Norman] it was necessary to rush forward and drive the enemy from certain breastworks within 600 yards of the walls, and to hold the breastworks during the night. This was accomplished in gallant style, some eighty of our men rushing forward with a cheer and driving off the enemy who left fourteen bodies behind them. Johnson and I went to the 'Sammy House' to see the business, and were occasionally under musketry fire until midnight.

While the siege-train was being delayed by the flood, no time was lost in preparing the ground for the attack, to which all had been looking forward during the past month.

September 1 *to* 3.—On September 1 Norman writes to his wife:

This morning I went to our new battery. It has been made so quickly, and the approach to it is so exposed that besides the engineers on duty, and rifle officers, I do not think six officers in the force have been there. It is a beautiful battery, but will not be armed until the siege-train comes in. The grape from the city passes clean over it, as it did twice while I was there, but in the battery the only real danger is from dropping shells.

To this letter Norman subsequently added this note: 'The battery was only intended to check by its fire attempts by the enemy to attack the right of our siege batteries or columns of assault.'

Among those who had lately been attacked by cholera was Norman's friend Walker, but when his case seemed hopeless he rallied and was declared on September 3 to be out of danger. Two officers of the 61st Foot died, Brigade-Major Simpson was now down with it, and Norman, writing to his

wife, drew the inference that 'everything showed that there must be no further delay.' In fact, sickness was so rife that there were about 2,800 men in hospital.

September 4 to 6.—At last, on September 4, the heavy guns with their ammunition came into the camp between 4 and 8 A.M., escorted by 220 men of the 8th Foot and 350 men of the Baluch Battalion, in addition to the force sent from camp to resist any possible attack upon them. They were followed on the 6th by 200 rifles and 100 artillery recruits sent from Meerut. Writing to his wife on this Sunday, Norman said, 'We had service and communion this morning. Some before next Sunday will have died soldier's deaths, but we are all in God's hands, and I feel no apprehension either for myself or the success of our operations.'

All was now as ready as circumstances would allow for the supreme effort, and on September 7[1] Wilson's general order was read at the head of each division of the army. In it he referred to the hardships which had been endured and the approach of the time when the exertions of all would be rewarded.

> The troops will now be required to aid and assist the engineers in the erection of batteries and trenches, and in daily exposure to the sun as covering parties. The artillery will have even harder work than they yet have had, and which they have so well and cheerfully performed hitherto. This, however, will be for a short period only,

[1] Attention is called to the date of this order in view of the statement so often made to the effect that Wilson was only deterred from retiring by the 'Council of War' and Nicholson's threats. Norman also tells his wife that prize-agents were appointed on September 6—*i.e.* only two days after the arrival of the heavy guns and ammunition for which Wilson had been waiting.

and when ordered to the assault the Major-General feels assured British pluck and determination will carry everything before them. . . . but to enable them to do this he warns the troops of the absolute necessity of their keeping together and not straggling from their columns. By this only can success be assured.

For the rest, the troops were called upon 'to spare all women and children,' but to give no quarter to the mutineers, to obey their officers, and to 'abstain from indiscriminate plunder.'

To such an appeal the British force was not likely to be deaf. The news of the Cawnpore massacre had spread through the camp, the wise restraint under which they had hitherto been compelled to reserve their fighting strength had become irksome, and all ranks were impatient to be led against a foe whom they had learnt to despise. So far the occupants of the ridge had felt themselves to be the besieged rather than the besiegers. Between May 30 and September 7 they had lost 2,163 in killed and wounded, whilst numbers enfeebled by disease had been sent away; and they had been counting the days when the siege guns should arrive and enable them to come to close quarters with the rebels. General Wilson had now 8,748 available troops (exclusive of 2,977 in hospital) of whom 3,317 were British, composed of 580 artillery, 443 cavalry, and 2,294 infantry. The European Infantry included H.M.'s 8th, 52nd, 61st and 75th Foot, the 60th Rifles, and the E.I. Company's 1st and 2nd Bengal Fusiliers. The strongest of these had little more than 400 effectives, while the 52nd, which had lately arrived with 600 rank and file, now had only 242 men available for duty. The Native Infantry included the Sirmur and Kumaon

Gurkha battalions, a remnant of the 4th Sikhs, the Guide Infantry, the 1st, 2nd and 4th Punjab Infantry and part of the Baluch battalion; but the numbers given above did not include the Kashmir contingent of doubtful quality, and some of the Jind Raja's contingent brought in to share in the credit of the crowning enterprise. The cavalry, about 1,000 strong, of whom 443 were British, included men from H.M.'s 9th Lancers and 6th Dragoon Guards, the Guide Cavalry, Hodson's Horse, and detachments of the 1st, 2nd and 5th Punjab Cavalry. The artillery, some 600 strong, were made up of guns from five troops of horse artillery, two light field batteries, and some companies of foot artillery. The engineers, who were now to play so important a part, counted only 120 regular sappers, with some companies of Mazbi Sikhs partially trained, and coolies who, if unskilled labourers, rendered invaluable services. As Norman wrote to his wife :

All the horse artillery men are to go into the heavy batteries, as well as foot artillery, except Bourchier's battery, kept ready in camp to move anywhere, and Scott's battery which furnishes three picquets of two guns each under subalterns, while he goes into the heavy batteries himself.

But if this invincible force consisted of fragments of units, and of diverse branches of the service called upon to undertake the duties of other branches, one spirit and one purpose united all its component parts. Unexpected delays, and even failures still awaited them, as will be seen in the next chapter, but on the night of September 7 no one in camp felt any misgiving as to their ultimate success, and with such a spirit the end was half attained before the fiery struggle was commenced.

CHAPTER VI

THE ASSAULT AND CAPTURE OF DELHI

Divisions of the subject—Light battery placed in advance of the ridge—Choice of positions for the main siege batteries—No. 1 battery opposite Mori Gate—No. 2 in front of Ludlow Castle—No. 3 battery opposite the Custom House—No. 4 mortar battery in Koodsia bagh—The enemy's attacks—Breach declared practicable—The 'Council of War'—The assault, September 14 The explosion—Progress of the four columns—Orders issued to hold and strengthen positions—Norman's ride to the camp—A street fight—How he secured a Sepoy's medal—Counting up the losses—Order to the troops regarding street fighting—Progress of the force—The king captured, September 20—Lamentations for the dead—Dinner in the palace to General Wilson—Capture of the princes by Hodson—Organisation of a column to proceed to Cawnpore.

THE events which occurred between September 8 and 21, when General Wilson at last took up his quarters in the imperial palace of Delhi, are naturally divided into two parts. The first part comprises eight momentous days, during which four batteries were constructed and brought into action. The second begins with the report of Baird Smith, the Chief Engineer, that the breaches made by those batteries were practicable, and includes the delivery of the assault on the morning of the 14th, followed by the tedious and dangerous process of fighting in the streets until the palace was occupied. Both before and after this date many disappointments and unexpected delays occurred, and all accounts agree in the conclusion that the troops were, in Norman's phraseology, 'worthy of' and only just

equal to the heroic task imposed upon them. The inference is justified that any attempt to take the city before the siege guns had arrived would have been unsuccessful. Be that as it may, there is abundant material for tracing the events of the next fortnight, since Norman left voluminous notes on the subject in addition to his letters to his wife. The latter were naturally shorter than they had been before the absorbing work of the assault overtook him.

It will be borne in mind that anyone looking out from the northern face of the fortifications of Delhi, extending from the Mori gate on his left to the water bastion on his right, would have observed the ridge on his left, like some bent or slightly curved horn, trending in a north-easterly direction from the edge of Kishanganj to beyond the flagstaff, while on his right the river Jumna took a north-westerly bend towards the end of the ridge, and so enclosed a rough triangular space with its base formed by the northern face of Delhi. Within this space attacker and besieged came to close grip, and before the four batteries were placed in their advanced positions it was necessary to close up the corner between the southern end of the ridge and the walls of Delhi. As Norman explains :

> The construction of the siege batteries was preceded by the erection of a small battery in advance of the ridge in a very exposed position which was armed with four 9-pounder guns and two 24-pounder howitzers. This battery [known as the Sammy house battery] was intended to prevent attacks from the city on the right flank of the siege batteries, and also later on to protect the right of the columns when advancing to storm the breaches. It was 700 yards from the walls. Warrand lost an arm on duty here.

The positions of the four siege batteries must now be explained, and the following extract throws light upon the considerations which governed their selection.

We had from the first no choice as to the front of attack, our position on the north side being the only one from which we could possibly keep up our communications with the Punjab, whence our supplies and reinforcements were drawn. Here, fortunately, our left was covered by the river from molestation except from artillery fire. By entering the city in that direction, too, the troops would find themselves in more open ground than was to be found elsewhere in the city.

The front to be attacked included the Mori,[1] the Kashmir, and the water bastions with the connecting curtain walls and the Kashmir gate. The bastions had been greatly altered and improved by our engineers many years ago, and presented regular faces and flanks of masonry with properly cut embrasures. The height of the walls was twenty-four feet above the ground, the upper part being a parapet three feet thick and the remainder about twelve feet in thickness. Outside the wall was a very wide berm and then a ditch sixteen feet deep and twenty feet wide at the bottom; there were a steep escarp and counterscarp, the latter unrevetted and the former revetted with stone and eight feet high. A good sloping glacis covered the lower ten feet of the wall from all attempts of distant batteries. Estimating the armament on this face by the guns actually captured in the works, there were nine pieces in the Mori bastion, the same in the Kashmir, ten in the water bastion, and three in a small bastion between the Kashmir gate and the Mori bastion. These were principally 32-, 24-, and 18-pounder guns with some heavy mortars and howitzers. This makes thirty-one pieces of

[1] As the British faced the northern walls of Delhi the Mori gate was on their right, then the Kashmir bastion in the middle, with the Kashmir gate projecting from the line of fortification, the main gate, and finally, the water bastion on their left. Beyond the Mori gate came in succession the Kabul, Lahore and Ajmir gates.

artillery, but there were also in a battery in Kishanganj suburb a 24-pounder, two 18-pounders, one 12-pounder gun, and a 10-inch mortar, and outside the city, in a position to enfilade our proposed batteries, there were two 18-pounder guns. This does not include the horse artillery and field battery guns captured in various positions in the city or in the streets, nor the heavy guns across the river, nor those in the Selimgarh fort, or in bastions to the right of the Mori bastion which could bring fire to bear upon our ridge positions.

September 8.—By dint of extraordinary exertions, what was called No. 1 battery in two divisions fronting the Mori bastion was completed during the night of the 7th and the morning of September 8, with its magazines and approaches, and a covered way was constructed between the right and left divisions, separated from each other by an interval of 200 yards. The right portion, commanded by Major Brind, was armed with five 18-pounder guns and an 8-inch howitzer, and was about 600 yards from the Mori bastion, whose fire it was to silence and prevent interference with our attack on the left. The left portion of the battery with four 24-pounder guns, under Major Turner, was to hold in check the Kashmir bastion distant from it about 850 yards. Writing to his wife, Norman described the work of construction as 'ticklish, for the ground was open,' and as regards its magnitude he added,

You may judge when I mention that 1,000 camel loads of fascines and material [1] had to be taken down besides 100 camel loads of powder, shot and shell. Simultaneously a detachment of the covering party took possession of

[1] Much credit in the collection of this material was due to Lieutenant H. A. Brownlow, of the Engineers, who was in charge of the park.

Ludlow Castle and of the Koodsia bagh, a large garden on the banks of the river which extends to within 350 yards of the city walls. Johnson and I were up all night and visited the several positions.

All available men took part in the construction of the batteries. They worked continuously in shifts, and their zeal and conduct were rewarded by a complimentary general order from the General, which was issued on the afternoon of the 9th. On the 8th 300 Europeans and 100 natives went on duty in the working party, being relieved at 10 P.M. by 350 Europeans and fifty natives. At 5 A.M. on the 9th 400 native infantry took their place, and at 5 P.M. on this day no less than 800 Europeans and 400 natives with twenty-four officers were engaged as a working party.

September 9.—With the possession of Ludlow Castle the next battery, No 2, was traced in front of it, consisting of two sections. The right section, under Major Kaye, consisted of seven 8-inch howitzers and two 18-pounders, and was designed to destroy at a distance of some 700 yards the defences of the Kashmir bastion, while the left section, which Major Campbell commanded, had nine 24-pounders [1] with which to breach the curtain adjoining the right flank of the Kashmir bastion, and so destroy cover for musketry. Its distance from the walls was about 550 yards, and owing to some unexpected delay it was not ready to open fire before the 11th.

Battery No. 3, known as the Custom House

[1] In this and in other cases Norman's account slightly differs from the Plan already given in this book. Perhaps the 'nine 24-pounders' in the text, which agrees with the Plan No. 271 of 1893 Intelligence Branch, is a mistake for one 18-pounder and eight 24-pounders, or else Colonel Baird Smith's original intentions were modified after the preparation of his plan.

battery, which held six 18-pounders under Major Scott, and twelve 5½-inch mortars under Captain Blunt, was the last to be completed owing to unexpected difficulties and its proximity to the walls. It was intended to breach the curtain adjoining the water bastion, destroy the defences, and harass the defenders. It was traced, under the direction of Taylor,[1] within 180 yards of the water bastion under cover of some walls which were blown away when the battery was ready for action. Norman's account of this battery is given in these words :

In the morning of the 9th, the engineers represented to General Wilson that it was now found that from the position selected for the heavy gun battery in the Koodsia bagh it would be impossible to see the city walls. It seemed late in the day to find this out, but the General desired Johnson and me to accompany Alick Taylor to inspect a new position he proposed for this battery, considerably in advance of the Koodsia bagh, and if we concurred that it was possible to work a battery in this exposed condition, the General agreed to allow it. Taylor, Johnson and I went down accordingly, and passing through the Koodsia bagh, which was crowded with our troops and stores, we passed out by a gate on the city side, and accompanied by a few of Coke's rifles crossed a deep narrow roadway finding ourselves in the enclosure of the custom house, a building then in ruins. Close to the custom house, on the city side, was a wall, and behind this Taylor proposed to throw up a battery. The wall would keep off musket shots while the battery was under construction, and when it was ready the wall could be blown down and the guns open at once so as to silence those in the water bastion. By peeping round the corner we could see the water bastion and the enemy in it, just 160 yards off. It was a curious sensation looking up the muzzles of the enemy's guns whose shot and shell passed over us, while we were in danger from our own shot and shell. We decided that

[1] So writes Norman, but another authority says Major Medley.

Taylor's plan was feasible, and a working party was sent in the evening to construct the battery for six 18-pounders. On our way back Johnson and I visited the several batteries and saw several fine fellows knocked over. Walking in this way from 6 to 10 we had some narrow escapes.

September 10.—It was fortunate that on September 10 the remaining battery, No. 4, under Major Tombs, consisting of four 10-inch and six 8-inch mortars placed in the Koodsia bagh at about 650 yards from the city walls, was able to open fire on the Kashmir gate and bastion, the church, Skinner's house, and the water-gate bastion, and thus materially to assist the operation of completing No. 3 battery.

While these works were proceeding the camp and the ridge were almost deserted, and if the rebels had possessed any competent leaders they might have made matters very uncomfortable. Fortunately the treatment which a body of their cavalry received near Azadpur on the 12th at the hands of Watson (now General Sir John Watson, G.C.B., V.C.), 1st Punjab Cavalry, did not encourage others to follow their example. At the cost of a sword cut in the face and twelve men killed and wounded, Watson drove off the intruders, who left twelve of their number dead on the field. The batteries themselves were exposed to a hot fire, and, in addition to constant cannonades and occasional sorties, the rebels mounted heavy guns on the northern face of the walls and excavated an advanced trench to cover their front, which they lined with infantry. On the other hand, as each British battery was completed it came into action, and the excellent practice made by some Sikh gunners, under Sir William Hamilton's directions, was much admired. On

the 12th, as Norman visited the batteries, he was struck on the shoulder by a piece of wall broken by one of the enemy's guns, and one of his friends in Scott's battery, No. 3, Fagan, 'a most energetic, courageous, and cheerful fellow,' was shot through the head, leaving a wife and seven children to mourn his loss. On another occasion he writes:

> As I was going with Johnson a rocket struck the ground a yard to the right and the stick lay at our feet the shell flying on. Again Tombs, Johnson and I went out into the open to see the effect of a shot when a 24-pounder shot was sent at us and dusted us all over.

Nevertheless the British casualties were not excessive. 'From the moment of opening the batteries until the morning of the assault, 327 officers and men were killed and wounded, exclusive, however, of a large number of workmen and non-combatants.'

September 13.—The time had now arrived for inquiring of the engineers whether the breaches were practicable, and for explaining to the officers concerned the plan of assault. Accordingly, Medley and Lang of the engineers were sent out on the night of the 13th to examine the Kashmir bastion breach, while Greathed and Home had orders to inspect the water bastion. It was a service of considerable danger, but they returned in safety and reported that the batteries had done their work. Colonel Baird Smith thereupon recommended an assault on the following day, and Wilson issued the necessary orders.

On the previous day, September 12, an event took place which has given rise to much controversy. It is therefore important to quote the exact words

in which Norman described it to his wife in his letter written on that date :

To-day we had a meeting of brigadiers, commanding officers and principal staff officers to hear the plans of assault and occupation read and explained. The arrangements are good, and though accidents and mistakes will occur, I think, with God's blessing, we have every reasonable prospect of success, without much loss beyond the 2,500 already killed and wounded before Delhi. We shall have the telegraph wire into camp to-morrow, so I hope by the night of the 15th you will hear that we are in Delhi.

On this same day Major Reid wrote : ' We are still hard at work breaching . . . The assault will not take place before the 14th. God bless you. I shall not be able to write to-morrow.' [1] And on September 13 Norman wrote to Sir Colin Campbell : ' Whether we shall assault to-morrow or the next day is not settled. The mutineers are fighting well, but we have no fear as to the result though we may lose a good many in the city.' These letters, written at the time, contain no trace of any doubt as to Wilson's intentions to assault as soon as the breaches were practicable. When, in the decline of his life, Norman was arranging his papers dealing with the mutiny, he added the following note to his account of the events of September 12 in these terms :

All brigadiers, commanding officers, and the principal staff officers were assembled at the General's tent, and the plans of attack and of occupation of posts after the assault were read and explained. All were asked if they thoroughly understood the arrangements, and I believe that every officer went away with a distinct and complete knowledge of all he had to do. It was an interesting assembly to witness,

[1] *Extracts from Letters and Notes made by Col. Charles Reid, C.B.* Smith, Elder & Co. 1861.

and had an air of reality about it that is often absent from meetings for other purposes.

And yet upon this simple meeting of officers called together to hear the parts which they were to take in an imminent assault, camp rumour and tradition have fastened a story of a 'Council of War' at which was discussed the question whether or no any assault should be made. The writer once asked Sir Henry Norman on what date the famous 'Council of War' was held. He replied, 'Was there ever a council of war held at all? I know of none, and never heard of one until years afterwards.' In this doubt reference was made to General Sir J. Hills-Johnes, who wrote as follows on June 22, 1906:

As regards Wilson, I do not think full justice has been done him. In particular he deserves more credit than he has received in the plans and actions of the batteries formed for the assault. I never heard during the siege or assault a whisper of any intention on his part to withdraw. I was a subaltern in Tombs' troop. We had plenty of work to fully occupy our attention. I am therefore not an authority as to what rumours were abroad, but I cannot but think that they would have reached me if they had any truth in them.

Here we must leave these letters to speak for themselves,[1] and allow Norman's account of the events of September 14 to proceed.

[1] A letter written by Wilson to Mr. Colvin at Agra on July 30 should be mentioned in connection with another written on July 18 to John Lawrence, quoted by Mr. Bosworth Smith in his 'Life of Lawrence,' vol. ii. p. 151, in which Lawrence was told that, unless he sent help, nothing would be left but a retreat. To Colvin Wilson wrote that he was determined to resist every attack to the last, and that his force would die at its post. This lends colour to Norman's view that strong language was employed by Wilson, in order to induce Lawrence to send all the troops he could, and that retreat, which was impossible, was not really contemplated by Wilson.

September 14.—As the day broke it was perceived that notwithstanding the artillery fire kept up during the night, a parapet of gabions and fascines had been built up by the enemy at the top of the breach in the Kashmir bastions. The bulk of the artillerymen had already left to join their guns and horses, but a few men of the 9th Lancers and some artillery clerks were still present, and some guns being at once manned their fire speedily demolished this defence, and the explosion party was sent forward to blow in the Kashmir gate. The party quickly disappeared in the winding road, which passed through the glacis, and after a short interval we heard the sound of an explosion, followed after a few seconds by a clear bugle sound to advance given by a bugler named Hawthorne,[1] of the 52nd Light Infantry, who had accompanied the explosion party. This explosion party consisted of Lieutenants Home and Salkeld of the Bengal Engineers with three Europeans (Smith, Carmichael and Burgess) and four native soldiers of the Bengal Sappers and Miners. The bridge over the ditch leading to the gate had been removed, but the side beams were standing, and the two officers followed by the men crossed by the beams, and the powder bags were fixed to the gate and exploding threw it down. But Lieutenant Salkeld was so badly wounded in two places that he died, while two out of the three European soldiers and two of the native soldiers were killed, and one of the latter wounded. Directly the bugle was heard the columns of assault advanced, and the headquarters of the 60th Rifles, about 200 strong, ran forward and lying down on the crest of the glacis greatly helped to keep down the fire of the defenders.

The column (*i.e.* the 3rd) to enter by the Kashmir gate consisted of the 52nd Light Infantry, the Kumaon battalion of Gurkhas and the 1st Punjab Infantry, rather less than a thousand men in all, under Colonel Campbell of the 52nd. This column entered by the gate, and passing through, proceeded up the street opposite the gate, and was intended to pass through the city to the Chandni Chauk and crossing it capture the Juma Masjid, the great Mosque of Delhi.

[1] Home, Smith and Hawthorne received the V.C. ; as to Salkeld, see p. 167 below, and Appendix B.

The column was guided by a gallant civilian, Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, who was magistrate of Delhi at the outbreak, and who escaped after many risks and hardships and had joined our force on its way down.

To the left of this column the 75th Foot, 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, and 2nd Punjab Infantry (column 1, under Nicholson) advanced to storm the Kashmir breach. This column was about a thousand strong, and was commanded by Brigadier-General Nicholson. It carried the breach to the left of the Kashmir gate, and, reforming within the gate in an open space, moved to its right towards the Mori bastion and Lahore gate, both of which it was to capture and hold.

Still further on the left, the 2nd column, consisting of about 900 men of the 8th (King's) Regiment, 2nd Bengal Fusiliers, and 4th Sikh Infantry, under Brigadier W. Jones, was to advance from the neighbourhood of the Custom House battery and storm the water bastion, and then to support Nicholson ; but by some unaccountable misapprehension this column, when in the ditch, turned to the right and followed General Nicholson's column up the Kashmir breach, but a portion mounted the breach at the water bastion. This column followed General Nicholson along the walls, and eventually became part of his column, though a few men were left at the water bastion.

These three attacks had so far proceeded, and we had seen our available cavalry, joined by horse artillery when the men reached their guns and horses from the siege batteries, cross the ridge from the camp into the low ground below to protect the right of the assault. Here, however, they had to endure an artillery and musketry fire from the suburbs which was somewhat severe.

At this time I was told by the General to go to the Custom House battery and cause fire to be opened by a few artillerymen, who were still there, on the bridge of boats over the Jumna which we could see was crowded with people, and as the General was about to enter the city with the reserve, I arranged not to return to his side, but to join him in the open ground near the church, where the reserve was to form up. Having seen fire opened as

directed at about 1,500 yards, I made my way to the water bastion, which was only 180 yards off, and dropping into the ditch I mounted the breach. Here I found some of our wounded and a few artillerymen under an officer, and as there was a serviceable gun in the battery I had it turned on the Selimgarh, a lofty outwork of the palace, distant about 1,300 yards, to let the Emperor and his people know we were inside. Thence I made my way along the wall to the Kashmir bastion, looking down on my right into the ditch where our dead and wounded were lying, including two of my own friends, who had been killed before reaching the breach. Descending from the bastion into the open space below, I found only a few straggling and wounded soldiers, the two columns of Nicholson and Jones having gone to the right, and Colonel Campbell's column having gone straight on into the city, as before stated.

I had not long to wait before the reserve column, under Longfield, marched in, and I then learned what had happened to the column called No. 4, which, to the number of about 800 infantry, composed of the Sirmur Gurkhas and the Guide Infantry, with some picquets of other corps, was detailed under Major Charles Reid, of the Sirmur Gurkhas, to leave the ridge at Hindu Rao's and attack the enemy's guns in the suburb and then enter the city by the Lahore gate, which by that time, it was anticipated, would be reached by Nicholson's column inside the city. Reid was then to occupy two important buildings in the Chandni Chauk, or principal street in Delhi, which extends from the Lahore gate to the gate of the palace. The Kashmir contingent was to advance and cover the right flank of Reid's column in the suburbs. It was about 1,200 strong and had several European officers attached, with four guns. Both Reid's force and the Kashmir contingent were repulsed with heavy loss, and Captain Muter saved the situation by a judicious withdrawal. Major Reid was dangerously wounded, and the enemy seemed likely to follow up and carry our defensive batteries on the ridge; but a smart fire of shrapnel was opened on them from a battery of light guns on the ridge, called the Crow's Nest, where there were an officer and some artillerymen; and two distinguished

officers, General Neville Chamberlain and Captain Daly, who had been unable, owing to wounds, to take part in the assault, but had come to the ridge to see the operations, restored order, and the right of the ridge was made safe. The intelligence, however, of the repulse and of Reid's wound, that reached the General just as he was about to enter the city with the reserve, was alarming, and he detached one of the two field batteries, and the wing of the Baluch battalion from the reserve to support Reid's troops. In this affair, which was the only one in which the Kashmir troops were employed, that contingent had twenty-nine men killed and fifty-eight wounded.

The large gate which had been blown down by the explosion party under Salkeld and Home was quickly made into a substitute for the roadway of the bridge, which had been destroyed, and Major Scott's field battery was then able to enter the city and join the reserve infantry. The restoration of the bridge was carried out under the directions of Lieutenant George Chesney of the Bengal Engineers, afterwards Sir George Chesney, M.P., who was severely wounded on the occasion.

And now Norman was doomed to hear of nothing but checks and disasters. His story proceeds :

A portion of the reserve was moved from the open space in which the church was situated to the left and occupied the city walls and the buildings as far as the college, but this was hardly accomplished when we were startled by the retreat of Colonel Campbell's column, which was driven back before reaching the Juma Masjid and followed up. The guns of the field battery firing up the street checked the pursuit, but Colonel Campbell had been wounded and had to make over his command. Almost at the same time word was brought that Nicholson was killed and his column unable to carry the Lahore gate. It turned out that Nicholson was only dangerously wounded, but his troops had suffered severely from musketry fire from houses on the left and from the fire of guns and infantry in the front. From our left also came strong appeals for aid. To add to the trouble, close to where we stood some of the troops

discovered a large store of spirits and beer, and several drank themselves hopelessly drunk before any officer was aware of the discovery. Orders were sent in each direction for the troops simply to hold on to what they had got, to strengthen their positions, and to attempt no further advance for the present. By noon all active operations had ceased, though a dropping fire continued, and we were enabled to take stock of our position. Every column had failed to accomplish all that was intended, and instead of having possession of the Juma Masjid, the Kotwali, the Fatehpur Mosque, and a great part of the Chandni Chauk, together with the Lahore gate and Kishanganj, as had been hoped, we had only the bare city wall from the Kabul gate to the college, with a few houses in advance near the church. On the whole, however, we had reason to be satisfied, for although our troops were more or less in disorder, we felt that being inside we had a hold which the mutineers could not wrest from us, and which we might make a base to gain the whole city. It is true that outside there was still a large force of the enemy capable of doing much mischief, and with their batteries intact; but though Reid had failed, his troops were now in some strength on the ridge, and being reformed would offer a stout obstacle to any attempt to carry our camp. Hence on the whole we felt confident, and believed that a good day's work had been performed, and that nothing better could be done for the rest of the day than restore order among our troops, put our post in a state of defence, secure or destroy all liquor, many hundred dozens of beer and spirits having been left by the enemy near the Kashmir gate, doubtless with the design of inducing intoxication.

The reasons thus given for a suspension of further active operations during the day would seem to be conclusive. And yet the gallant Nicholson's impatience at delay made him, in the agony of his death-bed, apprehensive of an intention to retire, and others, who were not present at Delhi, so far improved upon idle rumour as to assert that Wilson contemplated retirement. A moment's thought

would have convinced them that retirement would have been impossible. Norman, however, disposes of all this gossip by remarking, 'Affairs looked for the moment unpromising, and undoubtedly made the General, who was really very ill from a depressing complaint, anxious, but I who was constantly near him never heard him breathe a word about retiring.'

As soon as orders had been given to hold the positions taken and strengthen them, Norman, soon after 1 P.M., cantered to the camp and despatched a message to the Punjab reporting the successes gained. He was the more anxious to do this because other reports of a more alarming character had already been sent by others to Lawrence. Then he rode back to the ridge observing that order had been restored there, through No. 1 battery, where he saw that the Mori bastion was in our possession, and so on into the city, noting as he went that the cavalry and horse artillery, who had so firmly stood their ground, despite the heavy fire turned on them from the walls, were now enjoying a comparative rest from their trying ordeal. Finally he reached head-quarters, already established at Skinner's house near the Kashmir gate, and having reported his proceedings, thought it time to enjoy a little diversion on his own account.

Accordingly he and E. Johnson and Fred. Roberts started off together to inspect the posts of the right. What followed is told in these words :

> We proceeded along the parapet, and half-way between the Kashmir and Mori bastions passed a small tower held by a non-commissioned officer and eight men of the 2nd Punjab Infantry, and soon after, descending by a ramp, proceeded up the lane between the ramparts and houses towards the Mori bastion. We had not gone far before

we saw a party of mutineer sepoys emerge from a cross street running into the lane, about a hundred and fifty yards in our front and to our right. They did not look in our direction, but on emerging into the lane pulled up and opened fire on our men in the Mori bastion. It was clear that we should have to fight to get to the Mori, so Johnson ran back to ask three or four infantry soldiers, who had just passed us going towards the Kashmir gate with camels that had brought up spare ammunition, to come back and help us, and he mounted the rampart and told the havildar at the tower and his party to do the same. Roberts and I stood our ground and were at first unperceived, but as Johnson was bringing up his men at the double, and was still a little way off, a mutineer sepoy looked in our direction and at once fired at us. This was followed by more bullets than were pleasant from the others. One of the Punjab soldiers coming up with Johnson at the double was shot dead by a bullet through his head, and Roberts' horse, which was being led away by his syce, was hit. It was clear that we must attack, and as Johnson came up we drew our swords, gave a cheer, and went at the sepoys. Simultaneously we saw that some men, led by an officer, were descending from the Mori to come at the sepoys from the other side, and though both our parties together did not probably amount to twenty men, before we closed, the mutineers fled up the street by which they had approached, closely followed by us. Some escaped, but a few turned into a house on the right, and we went in after them and killed those we found. We then withdrew, as we should have been liable to attack by overwhelming numbers, and it was no part of our plan to involve our troops in street fighting. Before, however, we fell back, a little episode occurred which I may describe.

The sepoys, many of whom were rich with plunder of treasuries, almost invariably had net purses round their waists under their clothes, and my attention being attracted by strong language, I found that a European soldier and a Punjabi were struggling together over one of these purses torn from the body of a dead sepoy. I told them both to let go and to give the purse up to me. Each professed

himself ready to obey provided the other let go; but as neither would do this before the other, I forced both to let go by beating them with all my force on the knuckles with the hilt of my sword. The purse was full of rupees, and after upbraiding these men for their disorderly conduct and telling them they deserved nothing, I said that as all the men had come voluntarily and bravely to the attack they should have the rupees; so I dealt them out one by one all round, like a pack of cards, and kept for myself the mutineer's medal which was at the bottom of the purse, and from which I saw that the dead sepoy was Hanuman Upadhia, of the 18th Native Infantry, and that he had received the medal for service in the Punjab campaign. This medal I still possess in the state in which I obtained it.

We then went to the Mori bastion, where we found European and native soldiers in possession, and a small party of artillery who kept up a fire with the captured guns at intervals on the city. The parapets were much ruined, but the bastion was solid below, and of great extent, with six guns and three mortars in it, which were now being used against the enemy. It was strange to look from the Mori at the ridge, whence we had so often gazed at this bastion with its troublesome guns. Men and officers in the bastion were browned and dirty; but there was one exception in a commanding officer of a native regiment,[1] who with some of his men was there. Always faultlessly neat in his appearance and attire, he was quite as much so as usual; and to see him and to speak with him it would have been impossible to guess that he had been engaged in anything more than an ordinary parade, and yet of 450 men that he had led to the attack, forty had been killed outright and seventy-seven more were *hors de combat* from wounds.

We returned to Skinner's house, and found our servants had brought dinner from camp, so that we dined under a roof for the first time for four months. Before nightfall the cavalry, having completed their duty of protecting the

[1] Captain Green, in command of the 2nd Punjab Infantry, seems to be the officer referred to.

flank of the assaulting column, were moved to the neighbourhood of Ludlow Castle, and the wing of the Baluch battalion being no longer required outside moved into the city and joined the reserve.

We had now some leisure to think of our losses and found that sixty-six officers and 1,104 of other ranks had fallen during the day, exclusive of the losses in the Kashmir contingent and among followers, and this was in a force which had already had nearly 3,000 officers and men killed and wounded, and had lost more than 700 by disease. Of four officers who commanded columns in the assault three were down with wounds. Of thirteen Engineer officers engaged with the assaulting columns nine had been killed or wounded, and of the infantry engaged in the assault about one-fourth were killed or wounded. The six British regiments in the assaulting columns, including the 60th Rifles, were only able to muster between them 1,630 men when they moved forward. Of these 568 were killed or wounded, more than a third, and about half the officers. We were indeed a shattered force, but having overcome the great difficulty of entering the city, we lay down at night without any doubt as to the final assault.

September 15.—The events of the previous day were at once a disappointment and a lesson. They showed that Delhi was not to be taken offhand as many had hoped, while they taught the attackers that street fighting would require even more system and co-operation than a pitched battle in the open, and that discipline could alone ensure success. Such was the lesson learnt, and the General devoted himself to the task before him. The means of maintaining discipline were, however, greatly weakened by the losses already incurred. 'Many of the best of our officers,' writes Norman, 'were killed or wounded, our troops had been severely shaken, and there were great temptations offered to the men for plunder and for liquor, which was

still to be found in many places.' At the same time there was danger, too, in the best military traditions and instincts of the British soldier. The impulse to attack the rebels wherever they showed themselves was natural but impolitic. Constant street fighting would produce no substantial results, while it would fritter away the already diminished force. *L'audace* was not needed so much as discretion. The enemy fired shell and shot from the Selimgarh and the palace, while the British opened fire from the college gardens on the rebels' magazine. Skirmishing parties of mutineers tempted the Europeans to advance into positions where they had not room to fight, and it was obvious that fresh instructions were needed. The General accordingly issued the following order :

Officers commanding columns are requested to adopt the following course in gradually driving the enemy from the city: The line of streets to be occupied having been selected, two or three intelligent officers with small covering parties of ten or twelve men will be pushed forward to reconnoitre and select the houses best suited to be occupied and held by the column. Officers are to be instructed that they are not sent out for the purpose of direct fighting, but are carefully to avoid it. The object in view is to occupy strong posts which can be held against the enemy and made each the base of a further advance. If there is no enemy near, and the officer should think that his small party could hold a strong post itself, he will occupy it, and, if need be, ask for support from the column to which he belongs. The general plan now proposed is the gradual seizure of a series of positions, each in advance of the other, with a good communication along the front, and such number of posts, each held in strength as may be necessary to secure the communications both along the front and to the rear.

The columns will have attached to them two field guns

and two light mortars, in case of its being necessary to use artillery to dislodge the enemy. Each small mortar will be mounted with its ammunition on a platform cart.

Occupying columns will be careful to communicate as much as possible with each other, and on no account to push on rashly in advance so as neither to give nor to receive support in case of any extraordinary resistance being met with.

The positions to be occupied in succession are the following :—

First.—The line of the canal, from the Kabul gate eastwards to the ramparts.

Second.—The line of the Chandni Chauk, from the Lahore gate to the Kotwali or other convenient point.

Third.—The line from the Ajmir gate to the Juma Masjid and on to Dariaganj if practicable.

September 15.—How effectively these orders were carried out is shown in the following letters from Norman to his wife, giving an account of the progress made day by day :

Our mortars [he writes on September 15] from various positions inside the walls are striking constantly, and making the palace, and indeed the whole city, extremely uncomfortable. The 60th Rifles are working up a street past the college, from house to house. Desultory firing continues, and the Selimgarh guns often strike the building close to this. Bullets, too, whistle about the compound, and a sweeper was killed in this enclosure just now. All the houses and shops are crammed with goods, but are utterly deserted. I tried to get some light trophy to send in a letter, but could find nothing save this ribbon. It was with a lady's lavender dress. The effluvia from the numerous dead bodies about is fearful. Numbers of babus, banias, etc., are flocking in to implore protection. We do not harm them, but make them useful in dragging away the dead sepoys. Numbers of women have come in, too, and are now congregating here. Under the best circumstances it will be two or three days before we obtain complete

possession of the city. I do not think we have lost thirty men to-day.

The 31st have again done well against insurgents and captured a gun.

P.S.—I wish you had seen the storm. The way the Rifles advanced right up to the ditch skirmishing, the manner in which Salkeld and the explosion party dashed forward in broad daylight to blow in the gates, and the rush up the breach, were magnificent. I never saw anything to equal it!

On the following day he says:

After I wrote yesterday evening we had some firing between the college held by us and the enemy in the magazine. In the midst of it, however, the band of the 4th Punjab Infantry played in the college gardens, with an occasional bullet dropping in. By dark we had well breached the magazine. The night was tolerably quiet; before dark I went round to our extreme posts on the right near the Kabul gate, and found all well.

September 16.—At dawn this morning the magazine was stormed by 200 of the 61st Foot and about the same number of the 4th Punjab Infantry and the Baluch battalion. There was a sharp fire for two or three minutes, a cheer, and all was over! Johnson and I went up the breach with the Baluchis, and afterwards went on and spiked a loaded 18-pounder on a tower beyond the magazine, where we came under musketry fire from the palace. Some fifty sepoys were killed in the magazine. Besides heaps of shot, shell, etc., we took 125 guns there, but very little powder, of which evidently the mutineers were very short. Arrangements were immediately made to open on the palace and Selimgarh, which are no distance off. I returned to camp to breakfast and to send off a message to Lahore, and while there learned that Kishanganj was being abandoned by the enemy.

September 16.—In the afternoon of the same day the rebels attempted to recover the magazine, and in repelling the attack and averting their endeavours

to set fire to the store of gunpowder, Thackeray, of the Engineers (now Sir E. T. Thackeray), displayed marked gallantry. Both he and Renny (Bengal Artillery) won the V.C. for deeds of valour which are set forth in the Appendix to this volume.

Thousands of dozens of beer, wine and brandy were still found in the houses, and with this temptation and valuable property lying about on all sides the task of maintaining discipline was very difficult. Everywhere 'relics of our poor countrymen and countrywomen' served to inflame the angry passions of the soldiers, and it was not surprising that small progress was made in the next two days

September 17.—Still, at dawn on the 17th a detachment took the bank house in Begum Samru's garden, and by nightfall the portion of the city so far occupied was clear alike of sepoys and inhabitants. At the same time Norman did not feel happy when he recollected that 'we have our large camp with 3,500 sick and wounded and stores to protect, besides the Sabzi Mandi, Hindu Rao's, etc.' He notes, however, with relief, that 'Chamberlain has gone down into the city to be with General Wilson, but he is unable to move about much. Daly, who is in the same predicament, is in charge of Hindu Rao's. Colonel Seaton, still disabled, is in the town. In fact, our want of officers is severely felt.' Happily the rebels were thinking of nothing except their own safety.

September 18.—On the 18th the besiegers' posts were brought nearer the palace, but an attempt to extend their position on the right by an attack on the Lahore gate was frustrated. Norman was too exhausted to write his usual letter on this day, but on the 19th he resumed his correspondence.

September 19.—This morning Johnson, Stewart, Roberts and I, who are somewhat inseparable, were with detachments pushing on to advanced houses; two which were taken (Major Abbott's and Khan Bahadur's) are within 150 yards of the palace, with no building intervening. We had some firing, but no particular damage. In all these houses we find most curious things, magic lanterns, musical boxes, letters, etc. We occasionally come across wounded and half-starved banias or their wives, but not often. Otherwise the portion of the city we have taken is gutted and abandoned to an extent scarcely conceivable. Johnson, Stewart, Roberts and I are always going about, and are several times each day under fire.

General Wilson is much knocked up, and now returns to camp to sleep.

In his next letter, dated the 20th, the story of the siege is brought to its close.

At last Delhi is altogether ours. Yesterday evening we made an advance under the palace to the Chandni Chauk; at night we surprised the Burn bastion and took it without loss, capturing five heavy guns and a mortar.

September 20.—This morning in succession we took the Lahore gate, the Garstin bastion, the Ajmir gate and bastion, the Juma Masjid, the palace and Selimgarh, and now we hold the whole city. Every post is occupied save two, the bridge head across the Jumna and the Delhi gate to the south of the city. To the former the Guide Infantry are about to proceed, with 200 Multani horse to be thrown out a mile down the Trunk road. The Baluch battalion will take the latter.

Since 2 A.M. I have been at work, and falling asleep at 3 A.M. with Johnson and Roberts in the Burn bastion, we had a shower of grape sent in amongst us.[1] Afterwards we had to reconnoitre through houses by ourselves to the Lahore gate, and though we kept concealed, we were quite amongst the enemy. Eventually we found that they were gradually abandoning the city and their camp on the

[1] 'N.B.—The last hostile discharge of a cannon at Delhi.'

south side, so we pressed them. A party took the Juma Masjid and then, blowing in a gate of the palace, entered. I went all over the palace.

September 21.—On September 21, a week after the assault, the headquarters of the Delhi Field Force were removed to the palace, and the officers established their mess and their sleeping-cots in the famous Diwan-i-Am, or hall of audience. Within the palace walls were stationed the remnants of the 60th Rifles and the Kumaon battalion with fifty Gurkhas of the Sirmur regiment. At the Juma Masjid and the various gates and important buildings the rest of the troops were distributed, with the exception of the cavalry, the horse artillery, and a few infantry left in camp with the sick and wounded. The rebels, and almost all of the inhabitants of that great city, which had so often in history suffered the horrors of war, were now in terror-stricken flight. The King himself had escaped, but Hodson, guided by Maulavi Rajab Ali, chief of the intelligence department in the British camp, went out with a party and brought him and his favourite wife back to the city on the 20th, where they were placed under a British guard. Norman's first thoughts went forth to those who, having shared the hardships of fifteen weeks of trial, were not to share the fruits of their labour. On the day of the assault sixty-six officers and 1,104 men [1] had fallen, including the two Nicholsons, and since then and up to the night of the 20th an addition of 177 had been made to the list of killed and wounded, while cholera had also claimed its own victims, of whom the latest was

[1] In one letter to his wife Norman gives the return of those killed and wounded in the assault as sixty-four officers and 1,160 men. But see above, p. 160.

Greathed, the Commissioner, who died on the latter night. The joy of victory was almost drowned in the lamentations for those who had gone, and Norman's gratitude for his own and his friend Johnson's safety was as nothing in comparison with his grief for the friends whose companionship he should never again enjoy. The fate of three of them weighed heavily upon him on this day of triumph. One of them, Lieutenant Salkeld, who had been desperately wounded in his heroic feat of blowing in the Kashmir gate, was rapidly sinking, and although the General's aide-de-camp was sent to tell him that he would receive the Victoria Cross, the news which cheered him for the moment could not stay his ebbing life. John Nicholson was passing away, and when, on the following day, Norman went to see him, he found the hero unconscious.

It was a piteous sight [he writes] to see his splendid form lying on his bed outside the clothes, his chest heaving up and down with rapidity from the action of his wound, and a vacant distressed look in his eyes. I turned away in pain knowing there was no hope.

From a hasty visit to Chamberlain with his arm bandaged and in great pain, Norman passed on to his dearest friend and brother officer, whose marvellous endurance notwithstanding a severe attack of dysentery had been the talk of his fellows. In command of Coke's Rifles, Charles Nicholson had spent the last week without cover day or night on constant duty, and finally, in leading his men to the assault of the Kashmir battery had had his right arm smashed.

I found him weakened by disease and the amputation of his arm above the elbow, and I feared he was as little

likely to recover as his brother. I am not ashamed to say that when we parted, as we expected, for the last time, we exchanged a loving kiss.[1]

There were others hardly less worthy of honour than the three officers mentioned for whose untimely fate Norman sorrowed as he thought of his own providential escape from death or wounds. But from the names mentioned by him in his letters two only can here be given, the one, that of a brave officer who, though wounded, survived, and the other that of a young subaltern whom wounds did not deter from taking part in the assault. The former was Charles Reid, the gallant holder of Hindu Rao's house during ninety-nine days of attack, and the latter Murray of the 42nd N.I., who, having been sent away wounded from the camp in July, refused to be absent when the Guides, with whom he was serving, were about to storm the city, and returned to die a soldier's death on September 14.

The pity of the final triumph and the long list of casualties did not, however, prevent the living from expressing the high sense they entertained of the services of the General who had led them to victory.

On the evening of the 21st we gave a dinner to the General to celebrate the capture of Delhi by the troops under his command, and some delicacies which had been carefully preserved for the occasion now made their appearance, including a modest modicum of champagne for our two toasts—first that of our Sovereign, and then that of General Wilson, the conqueror of Delhi. The latter toast was proposed in soldierlike terms by Colonel Thomas Seaton, the officer in the palace next in seniority to the

[1] Charles Nicholson recovered, married an American lady, and returned to India, where he was appointed to the Kumaon battalion, but on his way to join his regiment died in a lonely dak bungalow.

General. The occasion certainly was one of great interest, for after months of trial we had succeeded in our enterprise, and Delhi was so completely in our hands that we were feasting in the hall of the Great Mogul in a state of perfect security, while the Great Mogul himself was a prisoner under British sentries in a house in the city. General Wilson was outwardly a cold, unimpressionable man, but even he was moved by the cheers with which we drank his health and greeted him as conqueror of Delhi. Very joyful were our feelings, for though we could not but recollect the comrades and friends we had lost, still there was the overpowering reflection that we had been spared, and that as long as life and memory lasted we should be able to recall that we had been partakers in a great and memorable service.

September 22.—The deserted city of Delhi was occupied, and its king was under the guard of British soldiers, but the three princes, Mirza Moghal, who had added murder to rebellion, Mirza Khair Sultan, and Mirza Abu Bakht, were still at large, having fled to the tomb of Humayun outside Delhi. Thither Hodson pursued them, and having shot them with his own hand, brought their bodies to Delhi. For this act the plea of their possible rescue by an excited and threatening crowd has been urged. Norman, who never made light of Hodson's splendid dash and bravery, dismisses this plea with the remark,

> I never heard of this crowd at the time and I do not believe it. No mutineer troops had been left behind, and the multitude thronging the old buildings about Delhi were for the most part terrified townspeople who would have been easily dispersed by his sowars.

He adds :

> I believe Hodson shot them because he believed they deserved death, and was apprehensive if he brought them in

alive their lives might be spared. In doing this he did what I think was in the highest degree wrong. . . . I am bound to say, however, that many officers thought he did right and had displayed commendable vigour and resolution.

September 23.—On the 23rd John Nicholson, after suffering much pain for eight days, died. He was buried in the cemetery near the Kashmir gate, mourned and admired by all for his manly virtues.

It is characteristic of Norman's nature that the final scene in the capture of Delhi was no sooner ended than he proceeded to submit to the General a scheme for the composition of a column to follow the rebels and open up the road to Cawnpore, and for the return to the Punjab of a British regiment to assist Lawrence in maintaining order. In connection with this scheme it must be noticed that he had to overcome some resistance on the part of General Wilson, and that he blamed his chief for substituting H.M.'s 75th Regiment, which had lost heavily, for another and stronger regiment, which, according to the opinion of the Colonel and surgeon, was too weak to march. That was neither the opinion of Norman nor of the gallant regiment itself which lost a further opportunity of winning distinction. In this instance Norman makes no defence for General Wilson, but says, 'it was a great weakness to give way to a representation of the kind.' In regard to the General's hesitation about the despatch of the column General Sibley[1] tells me the following story :

My chief was unable to see the General, and sent me down to press him to give definite orders for taking up

[1] Lieutenant Sibley, principal executive officer of the Commissariat, was specially mentioned for his services in General Wilson's despatch.

the requisite transport to enable the troops to march. General Wilson was undecided, and I told Norman of my difficulty. We always felt that if there was any difficulty to be smoothed over, or any orders to be got, Norman was the man to go to. I therefore asked Norman to settle it. He at once said 'it will be all right and you can proceed,' and sure enough I soon got my orders.

The two incidents deserve mention because they show that Norman was not prepared to defend every action or inaction of his chief, and they lend weight to his assertion that Wilson never contemplated retreat from Delhi either before or after the assault.

September 24.—With the break up of the field force at Delhi and the actual departure of the column on September 24, Norman's position underwent a change. It was now his duty, belonging as he did to the Army department of the Adjutant-General of India, to join the new Commander-in-Chief, Sir Colin Campbell. The rest of the officers of army headquarters had been either killed or wounded. Colonel Chester was dead, and Colonel the Hon. Richard Curzon, Acting Quartermaster-General of the Queen's troops, had gone to England. Chamberlain and Becher were wounded and unable to move, while Colonel Congreve had been sent to Simla on the sick list. Norman was thus the only officer of the two departments of the Adjutant-General and Quartermaster-General of the army who was in a condition to join the Commander-in-Chief. The column, under the command of Colonel E. H. Greathed of the 8th Foot, had, of course, its own staff, which included Lieutenant F. S. Roberts as Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, and Norman sought and obtained General Wilson's orders to accompany it on his way to the headquarters

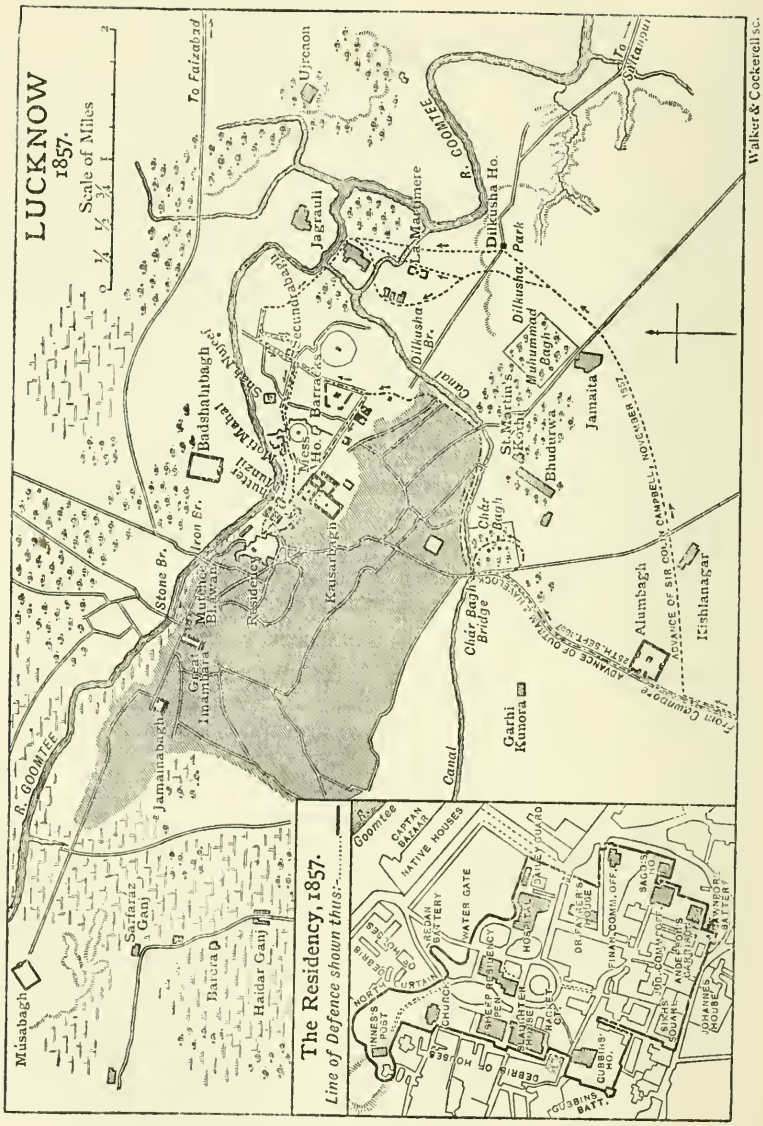
of the army in the field. In quitting Delhi he could not but carry away a sense, not of personal, but of general disappointment at the treatment which the Delhi field force had so far received from outside. This feeling is expressed in the following extract from a letter to his wife dated September 23: 'Hitherto we have been badly treated. In Calcutta they have heard of all our engagements to the very end of July, but not one word of thanks or encouragement has ever been vouchsafed to us.' However, this feeling of soreness was soon dismissed in the new scenes of activity which were opened to him, and as regards himself he had no reason to complain of neglect so soon as his promotion, in ordinary course, to be a captain of the Indian Staff Corps, when that corps was created, cleared the way for higher rank and honours.

CHAPTER VII

THE RELIEF, AND CAPTURE OF LUCKNOW

Norman's position between September 24 and November 9—Political effect of the column's march—Fight at Agra, October 10—Accident on the march—State of affairs at Lucknow—Kavanagh's dangerous mission—Fighting at Lucknow—Norman's action at the Shah Nujeef—Withdrawal of the women and others from the Residency—Evacuation of the city—Outram left at the Alumbagh—Convoy of the women and sick to Cawnpore—Their despatch to Allahabad and defeat of the rebels at Cawnpore—Beat up country—Battle of Khudaganj—Organisation of an army to capture Lucknow—Occupation of Dilkusha—Outram's operations across the Goomtee—Sir Colin's attack on the defences—Hodson's mortal wound in the Begum Kothi—Narrow escapes, and capture of the Kaisarbagh, March 14—Final expulsion of the rebels, March 21—State of Norman's health—His disappointments.

September 24.—When the first bugle sounded at 2 A.M. on September 24 in the camp pitched outside the Ajmir gate, every soul in Greathed's column, despite the exhausting activities of the last four months, responded with alacrity to the call. No one was more anxious than Norman himself to be rid of the smells and dust of 'the accursed city.' He felt that the troops had been exposed to a severe strain on their discipline while the treasures of the imperial capital lay within the grasp of the soldiery, and the beaten foe were exposed to a terrible and indiscriminating vengeance. Above all he saw with clear military instinct that the relief of Lucknow was the most pressing duty which lay before his countrymen, and although his letters


LUCKNOW
1857.
Scale of Miles
To Fatzabad
Musabagh
Sarfaraz Ganj
Haidar Ganj
Jamalnabagh
Great Imambara
Stone Br.
Iron Br.
Residency
Kaisarbagh
Badshahbagh
Shah Nujaf
Motti Mahal
Sikandra Bagh
Mess Ho.
Barracks
Secundrabagh
Jagrauli
Urcaon
Dilkusha Br.
Canal
Dilkusha Park
Dilkusha Ho.
R. GOOMTEE
Bhuddrwa
Jamaita
St. Martin's Church
Mahummad Bagh
Char Bagh
Char Bagh Bridge
Garhi Kuthora
Alumbagh
Kishlanagar
ADVANCE OF SIR COLIN CAMPBELL, NOVEMBER 1857.
ADVANCE OF OUTRAM & HAVELOCK, 25TH SEPTEMBER 1857.
From Cawnpore
To Sultanpur
The Residency, 1857.
Line of Defence shown thus:-
Goomtee
CAPTAIN BAZAAR
NATIVE HOUSES
REDAN BATTERY
WATER GATE
HOSPITAL
CHURCH
SHEPPARD'S POST
NORTH CURTAIN
CHURCH
SHEPPARD'S HOUSE
RESIDENCY
HOUSE
GUBBINS BATT.
GUBBINS HO.
FINANCE COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE
SAUNDERS' BATTERY
Walker & Cockerell Sc.

show that he fully appreciated the danger that smouldered in the Punjab and might break out into flames when the column was removed to a distance from Delhi, as well as the risk of leaving the Gwalior rebels in unbroken force behind the troops that were being sent to Lucknow, he never faltered in the opinion which he had formed as to the course that sound policy required. He therefore not only pressed his advice upon Greathed, who was distracted by appeals from Agra, but wrote regularly to Sir Colin Campbell, giving him full particulars of the situation and suggesting the despatch of decisive orders when at times there was danger of hesitation or delay on the part of those in command of the column. His own position he described to his wife as that of 'merely a staff officer on his way to report himself to his Commander-in-Chief with no responsibility for the details of the operations of the column.' It was not until the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell at the Alumbagh on November 9 that Norman resumed his duties as the only representative of the Adjutant-General's department in the field at headquarters. His official appointment as Deputy Adjutant-General, on the promotion of Mayhew as Chamberlain's successor, did not reach him until December 11, 1857. But in the interval between September 24 and November 9 he was not idle, for he took part in several engagements, and before the column reached Cawnpore it had lost ten British officers and 120 men killed and wounded in action, besides the gallant engineer Home, who, after surviving the brilliant exploit of blowing in the Kashmir gate, lost his valuable life on October 1 by the premature explosion of a mine as he was destroying the fort at Malagarh.

None but seasoned and indomitable troops could have overcome the difficulties of transport, fought the engagements, and covered 366 miles in thirty days as the column did. Their transport animals had been worn out at Delhi, and the men, with battered uniforms and ill-provided with supplies, were very prone to sickness. It was only with the greatest difficulty that they could carry their sick and wounded with them. But Lucknow needed their help, and all ranks pressed forward with alacrity, the natives who formed two-thirds of their numbers proving as faithful and zealous as their European comrades. Norman had a clear perception of political influences. He was not slow, therefore, to note the effect produced on the people of the country through which they passed by the combination of loyal natives marching by the side of British troops. No one could miss the meaning of such fidelity to a cause which the country-side had been taught to look upon as lost. Some Indians at least, and those of the fighting class, believed in the Company's *Ikbal*, and the common people had solid reasons of their own for wishing to see its authority restored. Norman tells his wife what he saw on the line of march. 'We did not meet one single cart, or any sign of trade. Everywhere the dak bungalows, turnpikes, police stations and telegraph wires had been destroyed. Ten months before I had travelled along the road witnessing every sign of good government and prosperity.' Now desolation reigned, and while the column pursued its way reinstating the civil authorities at Bulandshahr and Aligarh, destroying rebel forts, recovering treasure at Mainpuri, and frequently dispersing large forces of the rebels in battle, it

was constantly reminded by touching relics of the vanished hand of English ladies and of the cruel fate which had overtaken their husbands. At Bulandshahr, on September 28, the 75th Highlanders and the cavalry inflicted a defeat upon the rebels, and Anson, Blair, and others of the 9th Lancers won the V.C. (see Appendix B). Of the first Norman wrote that his services were on this occasion 'not a whit inferior to those rendered on several previous occasions, when he deserved the same distinction.' Roberts' horse received in its head a bullet which, but for the fact that the animal had providentially reared, would have reached its rider. Probyn, Watson, and Hugh Gough all distinguished themselves. Sometimes on the march information was brought of the murder of English men and women, or of their being held as prisoners; while on two occasions the infamous Nana Sahib crossed their path, leaving traces of his cruelty behind him. The column did much to restore order, but its influence did not always survive its departure. Thus it happened that on October 26, when the first daily mail from Calcutta reached Cawnpore, the post from that place to the Upper Provinces ceased to run. Correspondence, therefore, had to be sent to Agra by special carriers, and Norman told his wife to restrict her envelopes to two inches by one and a quarter, and to see that no letter weighed more than the tenth of an ounce. His own were equally short, and frequently never reached their destination. Some of these Lilliputian letters now lie before me, frail survivors of the storm and stress, and they naturally afford slender material for quotation.

Perhaps the most important of the services rendered by the column was its deliverance of Agra

on October 10 from an attack which the authorities had not expected. This is Norman's account of it :

October 10.—Repeated calls for aid came from Agra on the 8th, so we marched with the cavalry and horse artillery on the 9th to Kandauli, thirty-five miles. We were going on to Agra when we heard that this was unnecessary, so we halted to let the infantry and battery come up, and all marched in on the morning of the 10th. We got ourselves up in style, and when we marched round the fort were cheered loudly by the 3rd Europeans. I then rode through the fort, a perfect beehive with 6,000 souls, and such heaps of half-castes and hundreds of children. Then we went on two miles to the parade ground. . . . We had been told by the authorities here that the enemy were on the other side of the Kari river, ten and a half miles off, and believed to be retreating. T. F., whom I met, insisted on my going to the fort to breakfast with him. After breakfast I started for camp, but before I could get out of the gate heard guns and met people flying in, the whole of the Agra volunteer horse scuttling like mad, and declaring our camp was taken and everyone cut up. I was in uniform, had Sir Colin's sword on, and my pistol in holster (I usually do not wear the sword as the tulwar is so much sharper), and pushed on. On coming to the parade ground I certainly saw a queer scene. Not a dozen tents had been pitched, and little baggage was up ; men and horses were very tired, when suddenly from cultivation in front of them a sharp fire of heavy and field artillery was opened with a dropping fire of musketry, and bodies of cavalry advanced on both flanks. Our men rushed to their arms. Blunt advanced with his troop, but a gun was disabled, the horses being killed by round shot, and six out of seven Europeans cut down. Their sowars began to carry it off when a squadron of the 9th (not sixty men) led by French and Jones charged the enemy's horse full five times their own numbers. They rode over the enemy, but French was killed and Jones desperately wounded. On reaching the parade ground I found myself within a few yards of a 1st Light Cavalry trooper whom I pursued, but as I had more important work

to do, I gave him over to the tender mercies of two Punjab sowars who came up. . . . I killed three men, two with Sir Colin's sword, and one I shot. . . . For about three miles the rebels made successive stands at villages, but on each occasion we opened fire with artillery, then pushed forward and took the guns they had been firing. At three miles we came on a camp where they made a short stand. From this it became a simple pursuit—our blood was fairly up, and the chase was delightful—till we reached the Kari river, across which we drove them. At last we returned to camp, having marched sixty-six miles, and fought an action in forty hours. I dare say I rode eighty miles in the above time. The enemy appear not to have known of our arrival. They had calculated we should not be here, and had plotted with some Agra fellows to destroy the bridge of boats. They certainly intended to attack Agra for they brought heavy guns, and strong as the place is, the imbecility of those in authority is such that one cannot say what would have been the result. We had, I think, sixty or seventy killed and wounded. The whole country was strewn with their dead. All their guns were captured. I hope we have now put these wretched Agra people in some heart, and that we shall be off.

October 21.—A few days later, on October 21, an accident befel Norman which compelled him to continue his journey to Lucknow in a litter. Hope Grant had lately relieved Greathed of the command of the column, and Norman was riding by his side near Baira when the brigadier's horse, a trooper, lashed out with his heels and struck Norman on the shinbone. The bone was not broken, but the injury was extremely painful and severe. Norman had to submit to be carried into Oudh in a dooley, although he wisely insisted on having his horse at hand. This precaution probably saved his life at Bantera on November 2, when the British troops were suddenly attacked, and Roberts and Mayne, who

were inspecting a site for the camp, owed their escape to good horsemanship.

It is outside the scope of this biography to give an account of the events which, during the siege of Delhi, had taken place at Lucknow. Nevertheless, a few lines are needed to explain the service upon which Norman was now engaged in the second and final relief of the Residency. On June 30 Henry Lawrence sustained a severe disaster at Chinhat owing to the defection of the native artillery, and retired to the Residency on the banks of the Goomtee, where 927 Europeans and East Indians, including 163 civilians, and 765 native soldiers, inclusive of 118 pensioners, stood at bay defending women and children against a city of 300,000 inhabitants filled with armed soldiers, both irregulars and mutinous sepoys. On July 2 Lawrence died of his wounds, and Inglis of the 32nd (Cornwall Light Infantry) took command. Weary days of disappointment, hardship, and heavy losses by death and disease passed until September 25, when Havelock, with Outram serving under him for the occasion, brought relief to the survivors of the defence then numbering 577 Europeans and East Indians and 402 native sepoys, many of them sick or wounded. The relieving force had suffered so heavily that it could not carry away the sixty-one ladies and forty-three children or the sick who remained alive within the walls. All that was possible was to reinforce the garrison by some 2,100 men, of whom eighty were wounded, without leaving them even the supplies needed for their maintenance. While Outram therefore held the Residency, awaiting final relief and economising his inadequate rations, the sick and wounded of Havelock's force remained under MacIntyre of the

78th Highlanders at the Alumbagh. Unable to communicate either with the Residency or with Cawnpore, the gallant holders of this outpost, tenanted by fourteen officers and 517 men (of whom 250 were effective) endured the greatest hardship, several of their camp followers literally dying of starvation.

Such was the position when Colin Campbell, who had assumed the duties of Commander-in-Chief on August 17, left Calcutta on October 27. Having completed his arrangements, and deliberately refused to turn aside and attack the rebels threatening Cawnpore, he advanced by rapid stages to join the troops, which, with the Delhi column, had proceeded towards Lucknow. On his arrival he found that Adrian Hope had already, on November 6, sent a convoy of provisions to the Alumbagh, and removed from it the sick and wounded. Norman now resumed his duties in the Adjutant-General's department, and was warmly welcomed by his former chief and by Mansfield, who accompanied Campbell as chief of the staff. On the following day, as he left Sir Colin's tent before daybreak, he was jostled in the doorway by one whom he took for a native, and whom he at once ordered in Hindustani to stand away from the door at his peril. To his surprise the answer came back in English, 'I have come out of the Residency with letters for the Commander-in-Chief.' The speaker was Kavanagh,[1] employed in the office of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh, who, accompanied by an old native, and himself disguised in native dress, had come from the Residency with valuable intelligence as to the

[1] For these services Kavanagh received the Victoria Cross, a grant of money, and promotion in the service (see Appendix B).

position of affairs in the British entrenchments and the best line of advance.

November 11.—On November 11 Sir Colin, having formed his troops into a division under Brigadier-General Grant, and completed his arrangements for the brigades, reviewed his small and miscellaneous force of 5,000 men with twenty-six guns, specially commending the Delhi column. A splendid spirit of devotion and emulation animated all ranks and branches of the service. When the Sikh regiments had first met the Highlanders, 'bonnets and plumes and all,' on the march from Cawnpore, 'they could hardly be got past them,' writes Norman, 'so great was their astonishment. "Well, these are soldiers!" they exclaimed, and the bagpipes, not unlike those used by the Afridis, seemed to them the best music they had ever heard.' They longed, therefore, to show their new comrades of what stuff the Delhi veterans were made. Norman himself, with his pride in the sister service, was not less interested in the Naval Brigade which then numbered only 180 men.

> You never saw such fellows [he wrote to his wife] as broad as they are long. The tars have 24-pounder guns drawn by bullocks. They have two lieutenants, a mate, and two midshipmen [1] who are young lords. Captains Hammond and Maxwell are attached to them, which is a very necessary arrangement as the bullock drivers do not understand such directions as 'starboard,' which I heard a seaman using to-day.

When at length the Alumbagh was reached, the sick and weakly of the force, with all surplus stores,

[1] Midshipman Lord Arthur Clinton took a prominent part in repelling the attack of the rebels on November 18 on the picquets after the capture of the Secundrabagh.

were sent into it to be protected by the 75th Foot, now reduced to about 300 men worn out by hard service, while the detachments already there, belonging to regiments in Lucknow, were joined to drafts of the same corps with the relieving force, and formed into two 'Battalions of Detachments' under Colonel Hamilton of the 78th and Major Barnston of the 90th. When these arrangements had been completed, all was ready for the advance, and the need for success was emphasised by the fact that Cawnpore was already threatened, and communications with it had become precarious. Norman had only time to tell his wife that his leg was doing well. 'However, I must ride on the day we relieve Lucknow. It is a noble service to be engaged in, though what sort of fighting there will be remains to be seen.'

He soon found that the relief of Lucknow was not to be an affair of a day. The fighting, indeed, proved to be so serious as to render a movement to the rear necessary in order to make a better spring. His extraordinary luck in escaping hurt did not desert him, as appears from his letter written on November 18 to his wife.

All right. We yesterday got into communication with the people shut up here, and to-day and to-morrow hope to get them out. We have all had hard work, and tolerably sharp fighting. My horse was hit in three places in a charge of the 93rd led by Sir Colin. Nearly every staff officer with the Commander-in-Chief was wounded or had his horse shot, and Sir Colin himself was slightly wounded, Mayne and six other officers killed, about twenty-eight wounded, and probably 500 men killed and wounded. The enemy have suffered immensely. Out of the Secundra-bagh, which we stormed, 700 bodies have been taken, and there are at least as many more. We have no baggage,

and have been without tents for five days. I am perished with the cold at night.

This brief account was all that Norman could send to his wife until, after a lapse of three weeks, he found leisure to give her a more graphic narrative of events, from which the following details are taken.

November 14.—On November 14 the Dilkusha, or garden house of the King of Oudh, was reached by a wide circuit made through difficult ground, and the Martinière was carried by a brilliant affair in the course of which Lieutenant Watson as usual distinguished himself. Norman then mounted the top of the college with the Commander-in-Chief, and Kavanagh pointed out the main positions in front of them held by the rebels. In the course of the night a semaphore was erected on the roof of the college, and communications established with the Residency.

November 15.—On the 15th the last of the reinforcements came in, and all preparations were made for the final advance against an enemy numbering 30,000 trained sepoys holding strong positions. The British force available for the garrison of the Dilkusha and the onward movement now consisted of 2,800 effective European and 800 Punjab Infantry, 400 engineers, 850 cavalry, of whom 400 were Punjab horse, six heavy naval guns, four heavy Royal Artillery, twelve horse artillery, and fifteen field battery guns.

November 16.—On the 16th the advance began at 9 A.M., every man carrying his great coat and food for three days. Crossing the canal and traversing the narrow streets of a village, the British came under the fire of the enemy posted in the Secundrabagh and its neighbourhood. The gallant Blunt,

while directing the fire of his troops against the Secundrabagh eighty yards off in front of him, was thrown to the ground within three yards of Norman, but extricating himself from his horse's dying struggles was up and at work again in an instant. Then another bullet, passing through one of Blunt's gunners, struck Sir Colin on the thigh. The artillery and the infantry supporting them were now exposed to another fire from a square of loop-holed huts in their immediate rear. The position was critical in the extreme, and Sir Colin called upon the 93rd to tear down the roofs of the huts. At the same time a breach was made in the Secundrabagh, into which the rest of the 93rd and the 4th Punjabis hurled themselves in close rivalry. Major Barnston's 1st Regiment of Detachments effected an entrance by the gateway, and when later on Norman passed into it over heaps of the dead he received a violent blow on the head, which was caused by a dying rebel thrown at him from the top of the gateway. He and Roberts then went together into a house in the middle of the garden where the floor was strewn with the dead and dying four or five deep, the fire of the burning woodwork slowly creeping over them. After the capture of the Secundrabagh and the barracks on their left, the naval guns turned their attention to the Shah Nujeef, a strong, loop-holed tomb, where several deeds of valour gained the V.C., as shown in Appendix B.

Sir Colin placed himself at the head of the 93rd, and on we went with cheers. Nearly every officer of the head-quarters' staff was wounded or had his horse shot. My horse was twice hit, and as he reared on receiving the second blow a bullet struck him in the side, but I managed

to ride him for half an hour longer. Night closed in before a Highlander found an entrance and the place was won. The troops lay down where they happened to be, 'and a nice cold night we had of it with a soaking dew.'

Such is Norman's modest account [1] given to his wife of an affair in which he himself played a prominent part. For Lord Roberts tells us that when the attack was made on the Shah Nujeef the battalion of detachments for a moment recoiled and was thrown into disorder. Norman in an instant took in the situation, and riding into the middle of the retreating soldiers rallied them and led them on to the attack which they carried home with such success.

November 17.—Sunrise on the 17th found the rebels still occupying some positions in the rear of the barracks, from which it was necessary to dislodge them in order to secure the left flank of the advance, and to protect the line by which the occupants of the Residency must eventually retire. When Sir Colin had effected this object, he determined to take possession of the mess house, and Norman thought he would have a last look at the interior of the tomb of Shah Nujeef. To his surprise he found that all the glass ornaments had been destroyed, and the beautiful marble pavement broken up. 'I could not understand it,' he writes

[1] Sir Evelyn Wood in his graphic account explains that Major Barnston, 90th Light Infantry, led forward his composite battalion with his usual determination, but failed to force an entrance. He reported the fact to Sir Colin, and was returning to his men when a shell, bursting at the muzzle of a gun in Blunt's battery, mortally wounded him. Some of his men then fell back, when 'Norman rallied and sent them forward again, and then, supports coming up, the buildings east of the enclosure were seized and burnt.'—*Times*, October 11, 1907.

to his wife, 'until I met a sailor outside with a 24-pounder shot. I ascertained from him that he had done the mischief, for, as he said, "he did not intend to stand any of their idolatry."' Hurrying from this proof of religious zeal worthy of a Cromwellian, Norman rejoined his chief, who now found it necessary to interrupt the forward movement so as to secure his left from attack. Banks' house was therefore occupied and held by a small force under Keen, while other suitable positions were converted into military posts between it and the Residency, and so it happened that the afternoon of the next day, the 18th, arrived before the next obstacle, the mess house, surrounded by a masonry ditch and a high bank, was in the hands of the troops. The regimental colour of the 2nd Punjab Infantry was hastily run up, and being presently shot down, was replaced on a turret in token to the Residency of the progress made. Notwithstanding the murderous fire poured in from the Kaisarbagh, the Moti Mahal was next taken, and as the nearest part of the British position was now reached, a hole was knocked in a wall and communications opened, although the intervening space was still exposed to the rebels' musketry. Indeed, when Sir J. Outram and Sir H. Havelock later on crossed it to confer with the Commander-in-Chief, three of their staff, Colonel Napier, Havelock and Sitwell, were wounded. Norman with his friend Roberts took advantage of the serious deliberations in which their commanding officers were engaged to have a look at the famous posts which had so long defied the enemy. He found Olpherts pounding the rebels with his guns, the men generally 'tattered but very happy at the prospect of the

grog and food that awaited them, a soldier of the 90th being an object of envy because he had obtained a piece of tobacco from our men.'

Communication with the Residency having thus been established on November 18, Sir J. Outram came down on the following morning, and as Norman writes to his wife,

> It was arranged that the Residency should be evacuated as soon as possible. This was the only course open. The Gwalior contingent (in itself a powerful army) with other troops threatened Cawnpore, which was weak. The utmost mischief might be caused by delay in crushing it, and there was no force anywhere to do it save ours. We had about 5,000 effective men, and Sir J. Outram 2,000 men. This force was quite insufficient at one and the same time to protect and escort 1,500 women, children and sick, to reduce Lucknow swarming with rebels, and crush the Gwalior contingent. To have removed the women and sick, leaving a garrison in our old entrenchments, would have been out of the question. We had no provisions to leave them, and after weakening ourselves to supply the garrison they would have been shut up and required another relief. Sir Colin therefore determined to bring away or destroy everything in the Residency, to fall back on the Alumbagh and leave Outram there with about 4,000 men, and with the rest of his force escort the women and sick to Cawnpore and send them off to Allahabad, and then turn upon the Gwalior troops.

The execution of this plan required the greatest care, and from the 18th to the 22nd the troops continued out in the open day and night in order to cover and protect first the retirement of the women and the sick, and then their own evacuation of the several posts.

November 19 *to* 22.—The women and other non-combatants were withdrawn under cover of darkness on the 19th to Secundrabagh, and thence under

escort to the Dilkusha, while the troops evacuated the Residency and then in succession their other posts on the 22nd. All the while, the rebels, ignorant of their purpose and misled by the canonnade opened by Peel's guns on the Kaisarbagh, contented themselves with constant firing and occasional assaults. Norman paid a visit to Havelock before he left the Residency. 'He was lying on his bed in his blue uniform coat, very, very weak. He remarked that want of nourishment had reduced him to this condition, and that Jalalabad was nothing to it. It seemed to me then that he could not live.' As to the defence itself, Norman wondered at his countrymen's success. 'I look upon it as one of the most wonderful events in our history,' he wrote to his wife. The final withdrawal of the troops after the destruction of everything in the Residency was carried out with the precision of clockwork. But there was one narrow escape of which the following account is given :

Our infantry stood fast, but our cavalry and a troop of horse artillery moved out from the village in our rear, while we awaited the arrival of the troops from the Residency. They were told to stream noiselessly away without military formation until they reached the open country beyond the Secundrabagh village. Group after group passed as we stood by the side of the road looking like spectres, with long intervals in the stream. At length the last party passed and our guns were sent to clear the narrow way in our rear, when a solitary man ran as if hunted down the road. This was Captain Waterman, 13th N.I., who had fallen asleep in the Residency, and on awaking found himself its sole occupant. He ran for his life through all the deserted courts between the place where sleep had overcome him to the Moti Mahal expecting every moment to encounter the enemy. At last he reached our posts in safety but the intense strain affected him for some time.

The final scene in this thrilling drama was reached when Norman was sent with orders to some of the 53rd who were now in the extreme rear, and nearly losing their way in the darkness, were the last of the actors to arrive at the Martinière. There he found that the Highlanders had piled up a fire for the Commander-in-Chief, by which he slept soundly until broad daylight. Counting up the total losses since they had left the Alumbagh, Norman made out that they amounted to only one-ninth of the force, eleven officers killed and thirty-six wounded, and 112 and 393 men respectively killed and wounded, in addition to five missing, a small sacrifice for so great an achievement.

On the 24th the Commander-in-Chief marched with the women and children to the Alumbagh, leaving a large portion of his stores and many wounded to follow on the next day since he had not sufficient carriage to transport all at once. From thence to Cawnpore the necessary movements took place by instalments. On the 25th Sir Henry Havelock was buried in the presence of the Commander-in-Chief, Generals Mansfield and Grant, and others, and as soon as Sir James Outram reached the Alumbagh no time was lost in completing the force of 4,000 men who were to be left with him to hold that position and the outlying post at Bunnee bridge, ten miles in the rear, until the time should come for the capture of Lucknow. The journey to Cawnpore was a painful experience for the wounded, who were nearly jolted to death in hackeries, and for the Commander-in-Chief, who, tied to his charge, received no tidings from Cawnpore save the ominous roar of cannon, and feared lest General Windham's force should be unable to hold

its own and protect the bridge of boats over the Ganges. They were not long left in doubt as to the gravity of the situation.

November 28.—About noon on the 28th a native sprang out of the long grass on their line of advance and delivered a letter written in Greek characters, addressed, 'Most urgent—To General Sir Colin Campbell or any Officer Commanding Troops on the Lucknow Road,' stating that Windham was heavily attacked and might have to retire into the entrenchments. Thus the fugitives from Lucknow, having just escaped from a long siege, had no alternative but to pitch their camp on the bare exposed plain and await the issue, while Sir Colin pushed on to see for himself how matters stood. As he reached the bridge, which happily was intact, an officer met him with the remark, 'We are at our last gasp.' But the gallant chief had no sooner ridden into Windham's headquarters than some of the Rifle Brigade recognised him, and their deafening cheers soon showed that they regarded his presence as sufficient assurance of success. After giving his directions Sir Colin returned to his camp, and on the following day transferred his own headquarters across the river. Gradually his forces joined hands with those at Cawnpore, and on the night of December 3 the women and children, with 500 of the sick and wounded, were secretly sent off to Allahabad. Meanwhile Sir Colin placed the rest of the sick in the entrenchment, and held the rebels in check at Cawnpore, delaying his final attack on the Gwalior contingent until the 6th, when he heard by telegraph that the party had reached the terminus of the railway and would soon be safe within the fortress of Allahabad.

December 6.—Greatly relieved in his mind by this intelligence, the Commander-in-Chief ordered a general advance against the enemy, trusting that his cavalry and horse artillery would meanwhile cross the canal on his left and come out on the Kalpi road, by which it was assumed that the rebels would retreat. As soon as Captain Peel had got his naval guns across the canal the enemy fled, and the pursuit was pressed by the infantry until after unexpected delay they were joined by the cavalry, who rode through the mass scattering them to the right and left as far as the thirteenth milestone on the Kalpi road. Hundreds of carts laden with stores, 2,000 valuable bullocks, and eighteen pieces of British ordnance were the main fruits of this successful but inconclusive affair. With the infantry worn out by fatigue and deprived of their carriage that had not returned from Allahabad, and with the opportunity lost by the cavalry's mistaken detour, no crushing defeat was inflicted on the foe. In fact, during the night, when headquarters were established at their abandoned camp, 'no communications with General Mansfield at the subadar's tank, with General Windham in the entrenchments, Greathed on the canal, or our own baggage were possible. We had certainly a very uncomfortable night,' writes Norman. General Hope Grant, however, inflicted some losses on the enemy while they were crossing the river, and captured the rest of their heavy guns. The mutineers dispersed to fight another day, and a force was sent to Bithur to destroy the Nana Sahib's palace, where a mass of correspondence was found that had passed between Azimulla, his prime minister, and many

persons of high position in English society, imposed upon by his specious manner.

The question which now presented itself was whether Rohilkhand should be cleared of rebels, or the task of capturing the city of Lucknow be first undertaken. When the orders of the Governor-General were given in favour of the latter course, it was necessary to wait the return of the carts sent to Allahabad and to make other preparations. It was not till December 23 that the Commander-in-Chief was able to organise 'a beat up country' and to move on Fatehgarh, so as to restore order in the Doab, before he could march on Lucknow. At Khudaganj, across the Kala Nadi, a strong force of mutineers was encountered, and some sharp fighting occurred, in which the 53rd distinguished themselves. On this occasion, January 2, 1858, Norman again had a series of fortunate escapes, while his gallant chief, as well as General Grant, were hit by musket balls. On the same day his friend Roberts won the Victoria Cross. 'While our infantry were forming for the attack, a cannon shot struck a section of the 8th Foot and killed or wounded eight men. Fred. Roberts killed a standard bearer, and obtained his standard. Our troops showed much dash on this occasion.' Besides his work in the field, Norman had heavy duties to attend to. Regiments fresh out from England had to learn Indian ways, a task somewhat difficult, as they 'affected to despise Indian customs.' Filled with desire for vengeance, British soldiers unused to India were apt to make no difference between loyal and disloyal natives, and their passions had to be curbed with a strong hand. A beginning was also made of raising a new native army, and two trusted

officers were deputed to raise regiments at Cawnpore and Allahabad. All this meant work for the Deputy Adjutant-General of the whole Bengal army, and, writes Norman, 'I sometimes complained that the work almost killed me.' It was fortunate that before he entered on the Oudh campaign he was permitted to leave his assistant and friend, Donald Stewart, in charge, and to spend a few days with his wife at Ambala. 'No boys from school were ever half as happy.'

1858.—Leaving headquarters on January 14, and visiting his old chief, Wilson, at Meerut, he was back at Fatehgarh on the 24th, having travelled in the meanwhile 654 miles.

Once more Norman found himself called upon to take part in the organisation of an army, but its strength was vastly superior to that which had stood at bay on the ridge and finally captured Delhi. What he had been to Archdale Wilson he now proved to be to Sir Colin Campbell. Edwin Johnson had written of him at Delhi, 'Norman is the life and soul of the force,' and now Blunt bore the same testimony in writing to Peter Lumsden. 'Old Norman,' he said, 'is the same as ever, only fighting fattens him. He is all in all to Sir Colin and is worth his weight in gold.' The army in Oudh was to consist of 11,000 infantry, 2,700 cavalry, and 138 guns. Eventually, however, it numbered with the Gurkha contingent more than 30,000 men with 164 guns; and although Norman, looking back on his Delhi experiences, regarded success as perfectly assured, he was aware that Captain Orr had reported to Outram that 'there were in or about Lucknow upwards of 120,000 men with 131 pieces of artillery.' Many of these troops had flocked in

from Delhi and Cawnpore, but a larger number were composed of the undisciplined retainers of the chiefs, and in Norman's opinion the real strength of the rebels lay in the lines of defences which they had erected with infinite labour round the city and in the weakness of the positions insecurely held by the British both in the province of Oudh and outside it. The Doab, or country in the north-western province lying between the Jumna and the Ganges was held by a weak force, while Rohilkhand on the left side of the latter river was in the hands of the rebels. Below Agra there were no British troops, and as soon as our forces at Kampti and Mhow began to move, the enemy in Bundelkhand and Central India would be sure to fall back on the Jumna. Finally the regiments that composed the army were so widely scattered that the whole force was never together in one camp, even during the siege of Lucknow.

February 4, 1858.—On February 4 army head-quarters reached Cawnpore, to find that city of painful memory enveloped in dust which the constant movement of troops rendered almost intolerable. Visiting Lord Canning at Allahabad, Sir Colin returned to Cawnpore on the 9th, and at once proceeded to complete the organisation of his army. Archdale Wilson was summoned from Meerut to command the artillery, which consisted of three brigades, including Captain W. Peel's naval guns. Robert Napier took charge of the Engineer brigade, and Hope Grant had the cavalry division. The infantry were at first formed into three divisions under James Outram, Edward Lugard and Robert Walpole respectively, and when additional troops arrived at Lucknow, Franks was entrusted with the

command of a fourth division made up of one brigade of three British regiments and another brigade of the four Gurkha battalions of the Nepal State. At a later date Maharaja Jang Bahadur joined the British with an additional force of 7,000 Gurkhas. Never before on Indian soil had so large an army of European troops been collected together, and in the operations that ensued the Queen's horse artillery for the first time fought side by side with that of the Company. Colonel the Hon. W. L. Pakenham, afterwards Earl Longford, G.C.B., acted as Adjutant-General of the Queen's troops, whilst the most important and onerous duties of the commissariat devolved on Major C. M. Fitzgerald. Modern journalism was also for the first time in Indian history represented by the war correspondent of the *Times*, Mr. W. H. Russell, who joined the headquarters on February 11, and, as Norman observes, 'was always good-natured, and scrupulously attended to the conditions imposed upon him.'

February 27, 1858.—On the forenoon of February 27 the headquarters' camp followed the main part of the army across the river and encamped at Unao. The next day Sir Colin rode fifty-two miles, mostly in a hot sun, to confer with Outram, and returned to his camp at Bhantira, 'not a bad feat for a man over sixty-five years of age pretty well riddled with wounds, and still suffering from fever contracted at Walcheren forty-eight years ago.'

March, 1858.—All was at length ready for action, and the Commander-in-Chief determined that his first step towards the capture of Lucknow should be the occupation of the Dilkusha. With this object he set out on the morning of March 2, and

personally directing the operations against the enemy who opposed him, made himself master of that palace. His own camp was pitched close to the Bibiapur house, where, however, he was exposed to the enemy's musketry fire from the Martinière, which they held in force. Here he waited for the arrival of General Franks, who, having been frequently engaged by the rebels, did not come in until the afternoon of the 4th, when he pitched his camp a mile in the rear. Outram was then directed to cross the Goomtee and establish himself firmly on the road to Faizabad, by which means he would be able to enfilade and take in reverse the enemy's lines of defence on and behind the canal. This important movement was effected on the 6th, and on the following day a large force of artillery was sent across to reduce a strong building occupied by the enemy which barred the advance. The cavalry under Grant moved on to the old cantonment of Lucknow, where the buildings were found to be in ruins and the graves in the burial-ground dug up and desecrated. On the 8th Norman accompanied his chief on a round of inspection of the enemy's position on the right bank of the river, and various preliminary operations were successfully carried out, strengthening the troops at the Alumbagh and clearing out the rebels from certain positions. Meanwhile the batteries were being constructed, and on March 9 the forward move began, Outram's force proceeding along the left bank of the Goomtee, whence it was able to support the various operations being carried out on the other side of the river. The Chakar Kothi, a strongly fortified building on the racecourse was taken by the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, the 79th Highlanders and the 1st European

Bengal Fusiliers in fine style, and fire was opened the next day, the 9th, on the Martinière and the Muhammadbagh across the canal. Unfortunately the parapet of the naval battery was not completed in time, and the gallant Peel, now K.C.B., was struck by a bullet on the thigh, which placed him *hors de combat* for the rest of the siege. By the afternoon the Martinière was carried by assault, and an adventurous officer of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, Lieutenant Butler, succeeded in swimming across the Goomtee from Outram's force, in order to ascertain whether the enemy's works on the canal had not been abandoned. Having discovered that such was the case he signalled the fact, and then swam back to rejoin his regiment, gaining the Victoria Cross for this act of bravery.

On the 10th Outram continued to press forward and to fire upon the enemy across the river. Thus assisted, the Commander-in-Chief took the whole line of earthworks, capturing the important position known as Banks's house, and opening fire on the Begum's palace. The British were now able to appreciate the success they had achieved, as they looked down and back into the enemy's first line of defence. 'The entrenchments along the canal were quite stupendous, and in their rear every building was strongly entrenched and loop-holed.' Head-quarters were now moved forward to the garden of the Martinière, and during the night it was discovered that the enemy had abandoned the Secundra-bagh, where they had suffered so severely in the preceding November, and it was occupied in the early morning of the 11th. On this day Norman visited Outram's camp and the naval battery. He found that Outram was engaged in an attempt to

secure the iron and stone bridges which spanned the Goomtee just beyond the Residency and the Mutchee Bhawan respectively. Before he could learn the result of this daring enterprise he was obliged to return to headquarters as Sir Colin had arranged to receive the Maharaja Jang Bahadur at 4 P.M. on the same afternoon. The Nepalese prime minister was attended by General George Macgregor, his political officer, and during the brief interview musketry and heavy artillery played an unceasing accompaniment to the conversation. Before the Maharaja took his leave, a message arrived to the effect that Adrian Hope had captured the Begum's Kothi.

Norman hurried off to the scene of what Sir Colin in his despatch described as 'the sternest struggle which occurred in the siege.' He found everywhere traces of the desperate combat in which the 93rd Highlanders, the 4th Punjab Rifles and the Gurkhas had played so distinguished a part. He heard, too, the news of the mortal wound which the gallant Hodson had received, and his account affords no confirmation of the sinister report which many historians have repeated.

> His regiment [writes Norman] was encamped some miles away forming a connecting link between the force at headquarters and the troops at Alumbagh, but he had ridden in to see the fight. After the assault he entered the palace and was shot in one of the inner yards. Though not without serious faults, he was a most accomplished and gallant officer, and as a leader of irregulars in our time probably unsurpassed.

He was buried the following night on the return of Sir Colin from the front, as told in a letter of the 13th from Norman to his wife :

Poor Hodson was buried last night. It was quite dark, a lantern being held up to enable the chaplain to read the service. His grave is in the Martinière compound. Sir Colin, General Mansfield, Sir E. Lugard and a few others were there. I can hardly realise his death.

On the day of his funeral, the 12th, Franks, with his Gurkha allies, relieved Lugard's troops and prepared for the attack on the Imambara. Outram's force was strengthened by heavy guns and mortars, and directed to increase his fire on the Kaisarbagh. The barracks and Secundrabagh were occupied in force, and steady progress made by pushing through houses and courtyards in the direction of the enemy's stronghold at the Kaisarbagh.

On the 14th Norman was sent with a message to Franks, and while he remained watching the operations against the Imambara, Colonel Sterling, Sir Colin's military secretary, arrived with another message which he delivered with great distinctness and precision to General Franks. After watching the fire, Sterling was about to leave with Norman when Franks asked him to repeat the message. This, however, Sterling refused to do, much to Norman's astonishment, and when Norman asked him for his reason as they rode back together, he justified himself by the remark that he believed Franks was only laying a trap for him in the hope that he might give a different version of the order, and he refused 'to place himself in his power in that way.' Shortly after Norman's return to camp the Imambara was taken, and by a rapid movement the Kaisarbagh also was secured, that being the principal stronghold of the rebels. Its capture was regarded by Sir Colin as conclusive, for he despatched a message to Lord Canning announcing the capture of

Lucknow, although fighting continued for another week.

An instance of Norman's modesty, to which attention has already been called,[1] is afforded by his account of the operations of this day. He writes :

> Other troops moved towards the building called the Engine house, and here a stand was made by some of the enemy and a few casualties inflicted on a party of the 20th Regiment, but the house was captured and a considerable number of sepoys were killed. Indeed one room was perfectly choked with them.

In connection with this incident Colonel Sir Edward Thackeray, V.C., K.C.B., observes in a letter addressed to the writer, July 7, 1906 :

> I have always had the greatest respect and admiration for Sir Henry from the time, nearly fifty years ago, when he was Adjutant-General at the siege of Delhi, to the time of his death. I well remember noticing his calmness at the capture of Lucknow by Lord Clyde in 1858. A large building called the 'Engine house' had just been captured. The rebels had offered a most obstinate resistance, but the building was surrounded and the entrance blocked before they could escape. Volleys were poured into it, and the floor and machinery heaped with corpses. It was owing to Sir Henry's calmness and the manner in which he gave his orders that the troops, who were somewhat excited, did not get out of hand.

The day was one of many narrow escapes for Norman, as he thus related to his wife :

> I had a great deal of exposure, and was several times under musketry fire from loop-holes at twenty yards distance. Round shot fire was sharp, and more than once I had to stand a dose of grape. Explosions were frequent, and Edwin Johnson and I stood for some time on a bastion

[1] See p. 186 above.

of the Imambara where a few minutes later an explosion took place which blew up several unfortunate soldiers.

Sir Colin's report to Lord Canning was a little premature, for some stiff fighting still remained, and the opportunities of securing plunder were demoralising the troops. Indeed, Gurkhas and British soldiers were not rarely drawing their weapons and fighting with each other over some particular prize. Stringent orders and severe punishment were needed to enforce discipline, all adding to the labours of Norman who described himself as 'worn out with heat and fatigue.' Norman had no thought of joining in the general scramble for trophies on his own account, but having been sent by Sir Colin to take possession of the Chutter Munzil, he carried off a marble bust of a king of Oudh by Thorwalsden, which he presented to his chief, and which afterwards came into the possession of Lord Clyde's residuary legatee, General H. Eyre, of H.M.'s 98th Regiment. On the following day the rest of the palaces and the Residency were taken, and communications established with Outram's force by the iron and the stone bridges over the Goomtee. On the 17th Norman ascended one of the minarets of the Imambara with Hope Johnstone, and at once they became the target for bullets fired from the courtyards below. From this height he surveyed the various positions held by the British, observing that if the enemy could have rallied they might yet have inflicted very serious losses upon our scattered forces. The greater part of the city on our left to the Alumbagh was still held by them, and it was reported that 5,000 well-armed sepoys with six guns were holding the Musabagh on the

left bank of the river. It was obvious that they must be dislodged, and, if possible, their retreat cut off.

On the 19th, accordingly, Outram advanced to capture their position, Brigadier W. Campbell being sent with 1,100 cavalry, 1,000 infantry and twelve guns, to march from the Alumbagh and cut them off as they fled from the Musabagh; while Hope Grant, on the right bank of the river, was prepared to deal with them if they should cross to that side. Unfortunately, Campbell failed to execute his task with any completeness, and when the Musabagh was carried by assault Outram could only despatch his two weak squadrons of the 9th Lancers to pursue the fugitives, the great mass of them thus escaping. On this day two ladies, Mrs. Orr and Miss Jackson, who had been kept prisoners in the city since the previous May, were rescued by Captain McNeil and Lieutenant Bogle, attached to the Gurkha contingent.

March 21.—On the 21st the Maulavi of Faizabad, having collected a force and occupied a strong position in the heart of the city, was driven out with heavy loss, and the final capture was thus effected. Lucknow had indeed fallen into our hands, but the total loss inflicted upon the rebels was comparatively small, being estimated by Norman at something over 4,000 killed. On the other hand, owing to the care with which the troops were handled and the ordinary risks of street fighting avoided, the British loss during the siege amounted only to sixteen British and three native officers and 108 soldiers killed, with fifty-one British and six native officers and 540 soldiers wounded, in addition to three men missing. Flying columns were despatched from time to time to scatter the rebels as they

collected in the neighbourhood of Lucknow, and a brigade was sent off to relieve the small garrison at Azimgarh, which was beleaguered by the enemy.

During the next few weeks Norman described himself as 'suffering from incessant work and unable to get any exercise, great heat, and dust, a plague of flies, and intolerable smells.' The army had to be broken up and regiments sent in all directions where they were most urgently needed. Rohilkhand had still to be pacified, a task which, undertaken at that season of the year, meant the certain loss by disease and exposure of splendid soldiers unused to the Indian climate. All this he foresaw, and writing to his wife, he added, 'we shall also leave Oudh only half conquered.' Looking then at what remained to be done, it is not surprising that he also referred with a touch of disappointment to the anxiety shown by some officers to get away, merely because the fighting was over and no more honours were to be won in the field.

On April 9 Sir Colin left camp to confer with the Governor-General at Allahabad, and during his absence Norman wrote to his wife on the 11th :

> This morning I was attacked with one of the most dreadful headaches I have ever had. From 7 to 11 I was in my tent in great agony. I think we are not encamped in a good place, hundreds of sepoys being buried about us with insufficient earth over them.

Again, on the 13th, having heard from Sir Colin, on his return to camp, that he was to move to Fatehgarh and would take Mansfield and himself on with him, he concludes his correspondence from Lucknow with this letter :

> I have a sort of low fever about me and am altogether out of sorts. If I can only go through the Rohilkhand busi-

ness I shall be content, and trust I shall then have fairly done my humble part in this great Indian crisis, break down when I may hereafter. We march at 2 A.M. To-morrow is our fifth wedding-day. It seems a long time ago. All who were at it are alive now, I believe, which is wonderful in these days.

Apart from the state of his health, two other matters weighed upon Norman's mind as he turned his back on Lucknow. His own intimate friends were now scattered. Roberts had handed his office over to Wolseley, and after sharing a tent with Norman parted from him at Cawnpore on his way to England; Hugh Gough had been sent to the hills to bind up his wounds; Watson was busy in the Punjab raising a new regiment; and the gallant Probyn was invalided. If Norman had hitherto wonderfully escaped wounds, his fortune meant separation from his wife and friends. Moreover, he would not have been human had he not felt keenly his omission from the list of Delhi honours that had been announced in March, for at that time he did not know of the official reasons for this apparent neglect. He rejoiced, on the other hand, at the K.C.B. deservedly won by his old chief, Archdale Wilson, and the brevet-majority and C.B. bestowed on Daly, but he confided to his wife on March 8 his feelings about himself.

I am not included, though every A.-D.-C. who was a captain is a brevet-major. Having been in nearly eighty actions and skirmishes, it seems odd that I cannot be rewarded, even though head of the Adjutant-General's department in a large army and during very important operations. It will come pretty right in time, I suppose.

He derived, however, some consolation from the fact that Sir Colin, in his despatch dated March 22, 1858, had written :

I must draw very particular attention to the services of Major Norman, Deputy Adjutant-General, who, besides his ordinary departmental duties, has performed the very onerous one of Adjutant-General of the army in the field throughout the campaign.

To his comrades the omission of Norman's name from the Delhi Gazette occasioned no anxiety. Henry Daly, who had written on July 15, 1857, from the camp at Delhi,

Tell Mrs. Norman her husband possesses the respect and goodwill, *hearty* goodwill, of every man in the camp, and the camp holds no better or more cheery soldier. He always does what is best at the time, and does it with a cheerful soldier's heart,

had in January 1858 briefly dismissed the doubts of an inquirer in these words, 'You ask about Norman. On the day of his captaincy he will be major, lieutenant-colonel, C.B., perhaps full colonel. He deserves it all and more. His services and knowledge have been of the highest value.'

So Norman waited on for his rewards until the Gazette brought to him the local rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the East Indies, and this announcement, dated July 19, 1859, was followed by the coveted decoration of C.B. Then ensued an interval of more than a year before brevet rank could be bestowed upon him, but his fine character never suffered any personal disappointment to blunt the edge of his own keen sense of duty. Indeed, when he heard the sad news of the death at Cawnpore of Captain Sir William Peel, so recently made a K.C.B., who fell a victim to smallpox on April 27, he could not but reflect on the vanity of human ambitions, and feel ashamed at the bare thought of even a passing regret at his own small disappointment.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CLOSE OF THE MUTINY AND ITS SEQUEL, 1858-1861

Strongholds of mutineers—Rohilkhand campaign—Norman wounded in action at Bareilly—Takes short leave—His family go home—Appointed Adjutant-General of Oudh field force—Plan of Oudh campaign—Dundia Kera engagement—Actions at Bugudia, Mujidia, and on the Rapti—Services mentioned in despatch—Returns to Simla and becomes Acting Adjutant-General—The White Mutiny—Takes furlough—Invested by the Queen with the C.B.—Joins a regiment at Dover—The first Levee at the Horse Guards' attended by Indian officers—Lord Clyde in the City—Norman appointed Assistant Military Secretary at the 'Horse Guards'—Reasons for his return to India, 1861—Fever and work in Calcutta—Appointed Secretary to Government, and enters upon his career as a civilian.

With the capture of Delhi and Lucknow public interest at home in the Indian struggle began to flag, and it seemed to the reader of the daily press that the mutiny was now quelled, and that nothing of much importance remained to be done. Even the Governor-General, who had previously miscalculated the position at Delhi, was now inclined to join in the sanguine anticipations of an early restoration of peace and order. But Sir Colin—or Lord Clyde, as he will henceforth be styled—and Norman knew well that the rebels had been scattered, not destroyed, that the British troops fresh from England were not seasoned or fit for harassing operations in the hot weather, that Kota in Rajputana and Jhansi in Bundelkhand were strongholds of rebellion, and that while the Gwalior

contingent was making Kalpi a rallying point for fugitives from Lucknow, Oudh was not safe. Finally, Rohilkhand was in possession of the enemy, and demanded the immediate attention of the Commander-in-Chief. In this biography we are concerned with those operations only in which Norman himself took part, and the course of our narrative now passes to Rohilkhand, whither he was sent with 'Bunny and some six Lancer officers, who, with myself, were the only officers who served throughout Delhi, at the relief, and at the capture of Lucknow.' To these, however, must be added his assistant, Donald Stewart, who, although he did not serve at Delhi 'throughout,' was engaged in most of its stirring scenes.

April 1858.—Before leaving Lucknow on April 14, Norman had done his part in moving the pieces which were required for the approaching campaign. Walpole had started with Adrian Hope on the 7th, taking a force of 900 cavalry and 2,700 infantry, besides artillery under Brind and Tombs, to traverse the intervening districts of Oudh and march towards Bareilly, the capital of Rohilkhand, distant some 160 miles from Lucknow. Jones, with a force of about 4,000 men, had been directed to leave Rurki and march *via* Moradabad to Fatehganj, and General Penny, C.B., was to cross the Ganges at Nadauli and advance through Budaun. Lord Clyde himself came up with his headquarters at Chobipur on April 19, and there he heard of the disaster suffered by Walpole in taking the fort at Rooya, when Adrian Hope, 'the best brigadier in the army in every way,' as Norman described him, met with his death, and the 4th Punjab Rifles lost forty-six killed and wounded. Marching every

morning between 2 A.M. and 9 A.M., with the thermometer standing at 112° in his tent, and occasionally buried in a stifling storm of dust, Norman confessed that he was 'at times miserable.' On the 27th the Commander-in-Chief overtook Walpole's rearguard near Fatehgarh, and Norman again became Adjutant-General of the forces in the field. At Shahjahanpur on the 30th the British found the Hindus delighted to see them, and the Muhammadans sullen, with several rebels in sight. 'I never saw a prettier cantonment,' writes Norman to his wife, 'but every house is destroyed. The nice little church was only burned three days ago. We halt to-morrow, and then move towards Bareilly, near which we expect to join Jones. Penny may possibly not be in time.'

May. — These were unconsciously prophetic words, for at Tilhur on May 2 a letter reached him announcing Penny's death.

It appears he intended to surprise a body of the enemy and marched at 9 P.M., but on the road the villagers reported that the enemy had bolted. Strict military precautions were neglected, the cavalry went ahead of the infantry, and General Penny with his staff rode ahead of the vanguard. Before daylight, on approaching a village, he was suddenly fired on with grape from one side of the road and with musketry from the other, and then some cavalry charged in front. He appears to have been killed at once.

Thus the army lost another of its distinguished officers with whom Norman had served in his first campaign in the Punjab. On the 4th Norman was awakened in the middle of the night at Faridpur to hear of the flight of the Nana Sahib, and an attack upon the troops just left behind at Shahjahanpur. It was evident that there would presently be some serious fighting, and Norman welcomed

the prospect of it as a means of diverting his mind from a fresh disappointment. 'We received yesterday the list of brevets and C.B.'s. Most deserve their rewards. All my friends cry out about me, and Russell to-day volunteered the remark that it was the greatest shame he ever knew.'

On the day after these words were penned Norman was forcibly reminded of the many mercies vouchsafed to him, for he again escaped death, receiving only a slight wound.

In our first advance on Bareilly to-day (May 5) we rode ahead with Tombs' troop. In doing so we came under a serious fire of round shot, and two of the troop were killed. At the same moment a round shot struck my left foot just under the inner ankle. It gave me no end of a rap, and I thought the foot was gone, but on dismounting the doctor said that the bone had escaped. So you see I had a most happy escape, for which I am truly thankful, for few people ever get touched by a round shot without losing a limb, if not their lives. I am *hors de combat*. . . . I kept as near to the front as possible in a dooley and saw most of the fight afterwards. Their cavalry came on several times, and a party of fanatics rushed sword in hand on the 42nd.

No doubt in the hope of saving anxiety to his wife, Norman minimised his own escape, for Sir J. Hills-Johnes gives the following account of what occurred:

He had a marvellous escape on the day of our advance and capture of Bareilly in 1858. He was on Sir Colin's staff, and was riding with him in the centre of Tombs' troop. While Tombs was leading it forward at a gallop, preparatory to coming into action against the enemy's guns, a round shot from the battery fired at our troop fell short, and ricochetted, striking and killing the sergeant of No. 3 gun, the centre driver of No. 4 gun, and then plunged into and killed Norman's horse, the shot grazing Norman himself.

Many instances have already been given of the charmed life which Norman carried. Bullets fired point blank from loop-holed walls missed him, shot and shell exploded at his feet, killing and maiming those about him, and every danger seemed to be averted from him as if by an invisible hand; and now at a small cost he received the soldier's guerdon of a wound in battle.

The famous charge which Norman witnessed from his dooley was indeed the feature of the battle of Bareilly. The 4th Sikhs were holding some cavalry lines during a pause in the operations, while the baggage and siege trains were closing up, when a large body of fanatics, Ghazis, fell upon them with such fury that they recoiled. The 42nd Highlanders were in support, and through the Sikhs the Ghazis rushed upon the Highlanders. The latter for a moment did not realise the position, thinking that the Ghazis were some of the Sikhs retiring, but Lord Clyde, instantly on the alert, gave the order, 'Steady, men, steady, close up the ranks, and bayonet them as they come on.' In a few minutes 133 bodies of the Ghazis lay stretched on the ground in front of the 42nd, and some twenty Highlanders wounded told the issue of the struggle in that part of the field. Meanwhile the enemy's cavalry had circled round the left of the British line and essayed to attack the baggage. But Tombs with his horse artillery, assisted by some cavalry, soon dispersed them. The British troops, which had suffered more from the sun than from the rebels, were then placed in the shade as far as possible, and on the following day the city was cleared of Mussulmans.

While the battle was raging at Bareilly, Colonel Hale and his small force left in occupation of the

gaol at Shahjahanpur, were being besieged. Jones was accordingly sent to his relief on May 8 with orders to follow up the besiegers to Mahomdi. His report of the successful accomplishment of the first part of his mission reached Bareilly on the 14th.

The troops were now suffering greatly from sunstroke, on one day five dying and thirty-five being struck down in one column. On May 15, writing from Faridpur, Norman tells his wife that 'every fight costs us more lives from *coup de soleil* than by bullets and sword.' He reported that the doctor was beginning to be 'a little doubtful about my foot. Nothing can be done for it but rest, and rest it cannot get.' The Commander-in-Chief, too, was 'rapidly aging,' and General Mansfield 'rather knocking up.' After some delay at Shahjahanpur, a move was made to Fatehgarh, the chief's escort being changed on the way. 'Two companies,' writes Norman on May 25, 'of the 80th formed part of the escort, and it was pitiable to see the men. Two died, and not one in six was fit for anything after they had marched a quarter of the distance, scorched with heat and choked with dust.' Norman was now urged to take a holiday for a few months while the headquarters' staff proceeded to Allahabad to await the issue of events. This he was at last persuaded to do, and after dining with Lord Clyde on the anniversary of the Chief's fiftieth year of service, May 28, he was able to inform his wife that he would join her at Ambala as soon as the roads were safe. The Commander-in-Chief was meanwhile detained at Fatehgarh until the middle of June, and when at length he proceeded to Allahabad Norman rejoined him there, leaving him again in September in order to take his family to Calcutta.

1858.—Mrs. Norman and her children sailed for England in the *Nemesis* in October, and soon after the middle of the month Norman resumed his duties at headquarters at Allahabad, having been appointed Adjutant-General in the field for the coming campaign in Oudh. Here he received a warm letter from Mansfield (afterwards Lord Sandhurst) congratulating him on his appointment, and adding, 'I delight in serving on the same staff with you, and you may depend upon me for keeping your well-deserved advancement steadily in view.' He dined with Lord Canning more than once, and was shown marked attention by his Excellency, who consulted him on several military questions. Lord Clyde himself was detained at Allahabad for the durbar, held on November 1, at which the famous proclamation was read announcing that her Majesty Queen Victoria had assumed the direct sovereignty of India; but Norman went forward into Oudh to his camp near Partabgarh, which his chief reached on November 2, remaining there for six days. The halt was a benefit to Norman, who was attacked with fever and had to be carried in a dooley.

November.—The force at the disposal of Lord Clyde varied from time to time accordingly as he joined other bodies of troops operating in Oudh, picked up the garrisons of isolated forts, or detached portions of his force for particular services. The rebels, estimated at some 150,000 men under arms, were scattered all over the province, some being armed peasants who remained in their villages under no particular leaders, while the bulk of them were either in the pay of the Begum of Oudh or retainers of the disaffected nobles, 20,000 being in

the following of Beni Madho, and holding the fort at Shankarpur. The plan of operations consisted of two parts, the first being completed before the end of November, when the rebels, save those in the Sitapur district, had been driven across the Gogra, and the second ending with an engagement fought on December 31, when the frontier of Nepal was reached, a vast quantity of arms having been collected, and 300 forts lying in ruins behind the victorious army.

The crowning event of the first of these periods was the engagement fought at Dundia Kera on the Ganges, and the operations that preceded it bore evidence of the wonderful activity of the Commander-in-Chief. The campaign opened with the issue of a proclamation to the people of Oudh that Lord Clyde was coming to 'enforce the law,' and that 'resistance must cease.' The well disposed were ordered to remain in their villages. Besides the force commanded by Lord Clyde, columns under Wetherall and Hope Grant were operating on a fixed plan. The Raja of Amathi was the first important noble who had to surrender his fort to the three columns, which, on November 9, surrounded its defences, and sixteen guns with a quantity of ammunition fell into the hands of the British. A move was then made to Kishwapur, *en route* to Shankarpur, the stronghold of Beni Madho. The Raja, however, fled without firing a shot, and while arrangements were made to occupy his fortress, Colonel Eveleigh started in pursuit of the fugitives. The Chief followed with no halting steps.

"On the morning of November 22 [writes Norman to his wife] we marched ten miles to Khanpur, fording the Sai

River and encamping at 10 A.M., while our carts were crossing it. At 3 P.M., as the last cart came in, we again marched and encamped at dark. Our carts were not all up until morning. At daylight (on the 23rd) we again marched, and bivouacking under trees we accomplished twenty miles by 4 P.M., and joined Colonel Eveleigh's force of six guns, 1,000 Madras, Sikh, and police cavalry, 800 British, and 600 police infantry. Our men were much knocked up, having done sixty miles in three days, and our cattle were worse. But the Chief determined to attack, so at daylight we moved on. We were seven miles from Dundia Kera, between which and Baxa Ghat on the Ganges Beni Madho was posted with 10,000 men and several guns.

The Chief directed the left column of attack with some 1,300 men, including cavalry and infantry ; Eveleigh commanded the other column with about 1,400 men. At about the distance of a mile from Baxa Ghat the enemy's picquets opened fire, and as the British advanced through a thick jungle of thorn the rebels' guns came into action. Thereon the 5th Fusiliers and the Baluch battalion rushed in with loud cheers and carried the position. The enemy were fighting with the river behind them, and were therefore cut into two parties, which fled in opposite directions up and down the river. Norman himself led the pursuit down the river, and counted some seventy regular sepoys among those who were killed by his party of cavalry. 'It was a very pretty fight, and when we got to the river bank we could see our horsemen across the river watching to cut up any who might cross. We killed a havildar of that rascally Light Cavalry in full uniform.' The total loss of the rebels in killed was about 400, and seven guns were captured, including a 9-pounder British brass gun. On the British side nine were killed and fifteen wounded.

So ended the first part of the operations, and before commencing the second, Sir Colin marched on to Lucknow, and there Norman spent his thirty-second birthday, December 2, suffering from the cold, which, after his recent attack of fever, he felt acutely. Meanwhile a force had been detached to proceed to Rai Bareilly, and by December 9 Lord Clyde had with him a 'very perfect little force of 800 sabres, 2,600 bayonets, and six guns.'

December 1858.—Passing through Faizabad and crossing the Gogra on December 11, they heard at Kurrumpur that the Nana Sahib was at Chardah, and consequently they pushed on through Bahraich, buoyed up with the hope that the arch rebel would at last make a stand. After a forced march they came up with the rebels on the afternoon of December 26 at Bugudia, the Chief and Mansfield taking command of the two parties formed for the attack. As soon, however, as the British opened fire on the enemy's left 'they bolted, and our infantry never got within a mile. While we were pushing in pursuit, the Chief's horse fell to the ground, and his right shoulder was dislocated and his face cut.' Norman joined the Hussars in pursuit for five miles, and six guns were taken.

About noon on the following day the British came in sight of the fort of Mujidia, and Norman was ordered to superintend the detachment sent with the heavy guns. As soon as they reached a position within 350 yards of a bastion they were met with a discharge of grape and musketry, after which the defenders took to their heels, and with a trivial loss this strong fort was taken. There was still a chance of coming up with the enemy at Banki, and with a force of 700 cavalry, 1,050 infantry,

and six horse artillery guns, using his elephants to carry as many of the infantry as was possible, Lord Clyde pressed after them.

We had [writes Norman] a miserable cold damp march through perfect darkness until 4 A.M. on December 31, 1858, when we were said to be only two miles from the enemy's picquets, and consequently pulled up till daylight. We then went on, and before 8 A.M. came in sight of their picquets. Four horse artillery guns were ordered to the front, and half the cavalry placed on either flank. The infantry and two guns followed in support, although when they entered a thick jungle in the Terai and it became necessary for the cavalry to wait for the infantry, the enemy succeeded in discharging a gun and wounding some of the troopers. But the appearance of two companies of the Rifle Brigade was enough to make them continue their flight. A further stand was made by them on the other side of the jungle when an open plain was reached extending to the Rapti. But it was brief, and as soon as the cavalry emerged the retreat was general.

Many were cut down or drowned in the river, where Major Horne and two of his men also perished. Fraser won the V.C. for a gallant attempt to rescue some men who had followed the rebels across the Rapti. 'But,' continues Norman, 'we had been out for twenty-one hours and the horses saddled even longer than that. It was late, and the infantry far behind and tired out, so we returned to them and eventually to Banki, where our tents were.' In these three actions eighteen guns were captured. The Nana and the Begum of Oudh made good their escape into Nepal, and although Jang Bahadur had no force in those parts capable of dealing with them and their followers, their condition must have been pitiable in that cold and inhospitable region. Oudh, at least, was cleared of armed rebels, and leaving

Brigadier Horsford with a force to watch the Nepal frontier, Lord Clyde set his face towards Lucknow.

1859.—In announcing the success of his campaign the Commander-in-Chief recognised the services of the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, who had served under him as Adjutant-General in the field, in these terms: His 'merits are well known to your Excellency, and he has continued to deserve my highest approbation.' The Viceroy tendered in a public notification his 'best acknowledgments' to Norman, and as soon as he attained the local rank of Lieutenant-Colonel the distinction of C.B. was conferred upon him, followed after a long interval by brevet rank.[1] The headquarters of the army remained at Lucknow for a short time to watch events, and then marched by way of Cawnpore, Agra, Delhi and Ambala to Simla, which Norman reached on April 27, just two years and seventeen days after he had left that station.

With a sense of fervent gratitude for his escape from so many dangers, he looked forward to a period of rest and relief from constant marching and exposure. Rest alike of mind and body he deserved and needed. But the fates willed otherwise. He had hardly settled down when the departure of Colonel Mayhew on sick leave involved his temporary promotion to act as Adjutant-General. That post he had filled for others in the field, while the actual holders of the office had been elsewhere or incapacitated. But to hold the office in his own right was an unheard of promotion for so young

[1] Norman became a Companion of the Bath on August 17, 1859. When he was still a Lieutenant in his regiment with local rank in India as Lieutenant-Colonel, he passed into the new Staff Corps as a Captain on December 2, 1860, obtaining brevet rank as Major and then as Lieutenant-Colonel within a few hours.

an officer, not yet thirty-three years old, and of little more than fifteen years' service. From many letters of congratulation which he received on the occasion of his being gazetted as a Companion of the Bath, two may be selected. Sir John Inglis wrote, 'You see my prophecy of some years' standing is gradually approaching its fulfilment'; and Brigadier Horsford was even warmer: 'You have been to the front on all occasions and had to perform the most onerous duties, and yet I doubt if you have an enemy in the Army. I don't know anything that has given me more real pleasure.' The congratulations of his brother officers did not, however, lighten the burden of the work which now devolved upon him. His predecessor had left large arrears, but apart from this the complicated problem of the reorganisation of the native army had to be taken in hand. To this was suddenly added the difficulty of the 'White Mutiny.' As regards the former problem, it must be remembered that in the course of the last two years the Bengal Army, with a few exceptions which included Norman's old regiment, the 31st N.I., had ceased to exist, while at the same time fresh regiments had been hastily raised under various and different conditions, notably in the Punjab. It was no light task to reduce chaos into system and order. The necessity for the reorganisation of the native army had, however, been foreseen from the first.

The mutiny of the Company's European regiments was, on the other hand, a bolt from the blue. Lord Clyde had already, during the progress of the Oudh campaign, warned the Governor-General that the matter was one demanding great caution. While he was pursuing Beni Madho's troops on November 16, he heard that the 1st Madras Fusiliers were

objecting to serve her Majesty on the ground that they had enlisted for the Company's army. According to the account given by Norman to his wife, 'he told them they must obey the Act of Parliament transferring them to the service of the Crown, but added that their views on the matter would be referred home.' The Commander-in-Chief at the same time telegraphed to the Governor-General reporting what had happened, and urging 'the necessity of dealing in the matter with the greatest circumspection.' Lord Canning failed to appreciate the gravity of the circumstances, and in a despatch dated November 18, 1858, to Lord Stanley, had expressed his view that the law was clear and ought to be upheld. He added, however, that there were more than 15,000 of the Company's European army in India, of whom 6,000 were artillery, and that their discharge would be embarrassing. Lord Stanley quickly replied on December 31 that he heartily concurred in Lord Canning's opinion that the concession of the men's claim for a free discharge or a bounty on re-enlistment would have been mischievous. In a further despatch of February 24, 1859, Lord Stanley instructed the Governor-General to inform the European soldiers that her Majesty's Government had decided that 'their claim to discharge or re-enlistment with a bounty was inadmissible.' This was accordingly published in General Orders at Calcutta on April 8, and consequently communicated by Norman at the end of that month to the officers commanding those forces.

May 1859.—The sequel is told in Norman's letter to his wife from Simla, dated May 8 :

> Since I last wrote we have had occurrences at Meerut which have caused much anxiety. I do not know if I

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A. W. Mowan.

told you that in November last the Company's European troops manifested discontent at the Act of Parliament transferring them without their consent to the Crown. They were told they must remain obedient, but, as they considered their rights infringed, the question would be referred home. The Chief warned the Government of India of the gravity of the matter, but Lord Canning and Birch took a wrong view. Lord Stanley and the lawyers at home followed suit, and a reply came, couched in curt terms without a word of praise or softening, that the men's claim was inadmissible. At Meerut a secret meeting took place at night of 400 men of the artillery and 2nd Cavalry. This was discovered, and at muster parade a considerable number of artillerymen and nearly every man of the 2nd Cavalry declared that they would not serve the Queen. The fact is that they do not like being 'turned over like sheep,' as one of them said. Some of the men are known to have threatened to burn the barracks, seize the guns, etc. On the 3rd we received the first intimation by telegraph—not very pleasant, for we know not how far the feeling has spread—and the slightest collision might have led to bloodshed, which would doubtless have been followed by a rising of the natives. We started at once for Kasauli, to be near the plains, and also on the wire. On the 4th Edwin Johnson arrived from Meerut to communicate all particulars to the Chief, and a Court of Inquiry was ordered at Meerut to be conducted by Young, while Johnson is to go to Calcutta to expound the Chief's view to the Government. The men have returned to duty and patiently await the inquiry. If they remain firm those who desire it must be allowed to go, as it is impossible to *force* large bodies of men to soldier. Great pains will be taken elsewhere to avoid collision; for setting aside the desire to avoid bloodshed and the consequences, it is doubtful whether the Royal troops would really act. Surely no law was ever before passed that transferred 30,000 British subjects from one service to another without their consent.[1] The Empire might be imperilled by enforcing it.

[1] Norman's estimate differs from that of Lord Canning given above, viz. 15,000, since he includes men on leave and under training.

In the course of the next few months Lord Canning was undeceived, and a change of Government at home, which placed Sir Charles Wood at the India Office in the room of Lord Stanley, made a change of policy easier. The spirit of discontent spread from Meerut to Delhi, Lahore, Cawnpore, Allahabad, where the 1st Cavalry got beyond control, then to Berhampore, where the 5th Europeans had to be overawed by the despatch of British infantry and guns from Fort William, and on to Gwalior, Agra, and Dagshai, in fact, throughout Bengal. It also affected the presidency of Madras. But long before it had reached its furthest limits Lord Canning perceived that he had made a mistake in differing from Lord Clyde. In a lengthy despatch dated May 14, 1859, he reported to the Secretary of State that he had detained the 14th Light Dragoons and a Royal infantry regiment about to embark at Bombay for home, and he proposed to relax the decision previously arrived at. Sir Charles Wood, with not less promptitude than his predecessor had shown, approved of the new course suggested 'for granting discharges to such men as may be unwilling to remain in her Majesty's service and a free passage home.' In August alone passages were secured for 5,099 men, who left from Calcutta, and it can be readily understood that with the Courts of Inquiry all over India, and the constant receipt and despatch of telegrams, Norman found himself over-burdened with work at Simla. The order, No. 883, dated June 20, 1859, in which the Governor-General announced his change of mind, showed how correctly Norman had appreciated the position. It embodied the 'words of praise and softening' which he told his wife were sadly needed. The Government

were constrained to declare their high appreciation of the Company's troops in the mutiny and before 1857, they admitted that the men's objections to the form of transfer rested on an honest conviction of their rights, and if they professed to give way 'in order to avoid even an appearance of injustice,' they did give way, and that not a moment too soon for the peace of India. That Norman was completely worn out by his active service in the field and his heavy duties in office was plain to others no less than to himself. Nothing but his stern sense of honour had kept him at Simla, but he now yielded to the advice of his friends, and took furlough. He had been invited by Hope Grant to accompany him on a voyage to China, but the doctors thought that the excitement and fatigue of the tour would be too much for him. There were some, like Johnson, who wished to see him at home for other reasons. 'Your presence in England,' he wrote, 'is so desirable for the good of the service, that you ought to give the benefit of your knowledge and ability to the Home authorities.' Accordingly starting from Calcutta on December 9, 1859, by the P. and O. steamer *Nubia*, he at Alexandria transhipped to the *Vectis*, which carried him to Marseilles, where he arrived in bitterly cold weather. 'Feeling somewhat weak,' at the outset, as he wrote to his mother, he soon picked up strength, made a new friend of a 'fine Madras officer, Captain Travers,' and renewed old friendships with John Christie of the Bengal Cavalry, General Marcus Beresford, and other fellow passengers.

1860.—He rejoined his wife in her lodgings in Albion Street, Hyde Park, on January 13, 1860, the tenth anniversary of the battle of Chilianwala.

A warm reception awaited him both at the India Office and at the War Office. At the former, John Lawrence, then a member of the Council of India, introduced him to Sir Charles Wood and Baring, afterwards the 1st Earl of Northbrook ; and at the latter Sydney Herbert and Lord de Grey, now Marquis of Ripon, extended to him an equally generous welcome. The Duke of Cambridge at the Horse Guards' treated him with a cordiality which, as Norman wrote afterwards, 'never wavered in subsequent years, even when, as in the case of the Afghan war, he thought I was in the wrong and went beyond my province in publicly expressing my opinions.' London society opened its arms to him, and Lady Palmerston presented Mrs. Norman at Court. Her Majesty the Queen not only invested him with the insignia of a Companion of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, but he was invited to dine and sleep at Windsor Castle on February 4. Like others, he went

> in much trepidation but had little cause, for everything was made easy for me. Amongst the guests were the Duke of Bedford, the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, the Marquis and Marchioness of Abercorn, Lord and Lady Wriothesley Russell, and Lady Churchill. It was indeed a curious position for one who was still regimentally a lieutenant in a Sepoy regiment, but I never enjoyed myself more heartily. Soon after we entered the drawing-room, the Prince Consort engaged me in conversation, and then her Majesty joined us, and remained several minutes talking about events in the mutiny, and about Lord Clyde and the report that he was likely to marry. Her Majesty placed me thoroughly at my ease.

But it was characteristic of Norman that he never allowed the pleasures of society to interfere with any opportunity of improving his professional knowledge.

Just as in his voyage to India he took upon him the duties of a midshipman, so now he got himself attached to the 32nd Light Infantry at Dover, in order that he might learn the nature of regimental and staff employment in England, and he paid great attention to the progress of the Volunteer movement. His remarks upon the review of that body, held in 1860, are worth recalling at the present time :

> Even then in its infancy, the volunteers who marched past their Sovereign were a fine body of men who were proud of themselves and their force. I think few of us really anticipated that the movement would be lasting, and that thirty years later we should have a quarter of a million of drilled men who for a very moderate expenditure could be equipped for all eventualities of home service, and who, no doubt, after a few days' embodiment with a properly organised staff would become valuable troops.

He was struck with the hearty appearance of old Lord Combermere, then eighty-eight years of age, who had commanded a brigade of cavalry at Seringapatam in 1799, and in 1826, as Commander-in-Chief in India, had taken the fort of Bharatpur ; and at the close of the review he had proof of the tact and influence of the Duke of Cambridge. Before the arrival of her Majesty some young officers began to chaff the police who were on duty, and to disobey their orders. Thereon the Duke, who was informed of the fact, rode up to a large body of officers and said, 'Now, gentlemen, I must request you to do what the police want.' His Royal Highness was greeted with cheers, and the police had no further reason to complain. On the contrary, Norman with others assisted the constables at a later stage of the proceedings in restraining a rush of the mob,

and although the police warned them to take care of their medals, some of their number emerged from the contest the poorer by the loss of them.

One event narrated by Norman, insignificant as it now seems, deserves mention as illustrating the change which was brought about by the mutiny: namely, the first levée at the Horse Guards' attended by Indian officers. Lord Dalhousie, whose far-seeing eye ranged over all things large and small, had written on April 9, 1855, to the President of the Board of Control, complaining of the 'galling and humiliating anomaly' to which the Sepoy officers were exposed at home.

> The Queen grants them honours and the duty of attending her person on State occasions. Every mail brings us news that the authorities are availing themselves of the welcome services of the Indian army in their own military operations in Europe. Yet these gallant men have failed to obtain in England even the bare declaration that they are soldiers!

Norman, on his visit to Windsor Castle, did not wear uniform but 'evening coat and waistcoat with tight-fitting black pantaloons, pumps, and black silk stockings.' He was proud of his brother officers, and when, in 1860, for the first time in history they were bidden to the levée at the Horse Guards', he wrote:

> I was nervous as to the impression they would make. At this first levée, however, some of our best soldiers and best-looking ones too, attended to pay their respects. Amongst them were the present Sir Samuel Browne, Sir Henry Daly, Colonel Le Geyt Bruce, and others of whom any army would be proud. At the end of the levée the Duke sent for me to his own room and made me happy by saying: 'Well, Norman, I think certainly some of the

finest and most soldierly fellows at the levée to-day were your Indian officers.

Space must be found for another incident recorded by Norman at the time, which is not without parallels in our own days. Lord Clyde and Sir James Outram were presented with swords of honour at the Guildhall, and subsequently entertained at dinner at the Mansion House. His lordship, who never failed to say the right words at the right moment to troops on the field of battle or on the parade ground, had neither liking nor aptitude for making an after-dinner speech.

On this occasion [writes Norman] he was determined not to fail, so he wrote out a very good speech, and had it printed on a slip of paper to which he thought he could refer when speaking. A few hours before the dinner Colonel Metcalfe and I accompanied him to the house of a friend, and he learnt his speech by heart, repeating it out loud. When Metcalfe and I whispered any remark to each other, he told us to be quiet as he could not learn his speech if we interrupted. We passed a dreary time, and in due course went to the Mansion House, where the London Rifle Brigade Volunteer Corps was under arms to receive him. In due course Lord Clyde's health was proposed and received with enthusiasm. He rose to reply amid deafening cheers. When they ceased he began, 'My Lord Mayor, your Royal Highness, my Lords and Gentlemen.' Then he paused, and cheers again rose, to be followed by the same words and the same hesitation. This occurred thrice, and then the audience, somewhat wearied, cheered for only a brief time. I could see Lord Clyde vainly trying to recall his speech, but failing he indistinctly uttered a few words and sat down, to be greatly cheered again. I was much disappointed at his breakdown after all the trouble he had taken. As I followed him when he left the room I was tapped on the shoulder by the reporter of the *Times*, who said he had failed to hear all that Lord Clyde had said,

and would be glad of any notes he had. I took him to Lord Clyde, who to the astonishment of the reporter at once frankly said, 'Well, you would have been clever if you had heard my speech for I forgot the whole of it, and I could not read it although I had it printed, but if you wish to know what I intended to say, you are welcome to this.' With that he handed the slip to the reporter, and it duly appeared in the *Times* next morning.

Norman never ceased to respect and love Lord Clyde, although he frequently had to complain of his short temper. In particular he regretted his chief's quarrel with Colonel (Sir Antony) Sterling, whom Lord Clyde suspected of having disregarded his wishes regarding certain recommendations for honours for military services, an allegation which Norman tried to disprove by documentary evidence, with the result that he only diverted the old man's anger to himself. As an instance of Sir Colin's really genial character Norman used to relate the following anecdote. A dealer in furs in the city sent Sir Colin a warm coat during the rigours of the Crimean war. On his return at its end Sir Colin called on the donor to thank him, and was informed that he would confer a great honour if he would dine with him. The tradesman offered as an inducement to his visitor to comply with his request the bait that he had a boiled leg of mutton with caper sauce just being served up for his wife and himself. 'Who,' Norman remarked in telling the tale, 'would doubt how he responded? Those who knew him well can understand how he enjoyed the attention, and how charming he must have been to the wife and her husband.'

1860.—In the summer Norman visited Ireland, the Isle of Wight, Paris, the camp at Chalons, and

the field of battle at Waterloo; but his time at home was not wholly spent in social entertainments or tours of pleasure. A commission was appointed under the chairmanship of General Lord Hotham,[1] an old Waterloo officer, to report on the amalgamation of the Queen's and the Company's European forces, and Norman was appointed a member of it. This was a great honour to one so junior in the service, and he was entrusted by his colleagues with the task of drafting several portions of their final report which formed the basis of the official action taken by the military authorities.

No one, therefore, was surprised when in September Norman was appointed to the office just created at the Horse Guards' of Assistant Military Secretary to H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, and although the presence of an Indian officer at Whitehall was regarded as an anomaly, even the most conservative official recognised that in the process of reforming the Indian military organisation Norman's knowledge was indispensable. His modesty and his experience of active service disarmed all opposition, and he was received, as he told his wife, 'by the whole staff with cordiality and kindness.' His Royal Highness at once recognised his value, and the following extract from the Duke of Cambridge's letter to Norman, dated February 4, 1888, which I am permitted to publish, speaks for itself:

Among the many friends I made during that prolonged period (a record of thirty years as head of the Army) I

[1] The other members were General Sir Charles Yorke, Major-General David Russell, Colonel E. N. Wetherall, Major-General Sir Peter Melville, Major-General Clarke, with Mr. J. Milton of the War Office as Secretary. The report was completed in August.

consider it to have been a great advantage to myself and to the public service that I should be able to look upon you as one of the most valued ; and though we may at times have slightly differed in our views, our united thoughts and endeavours certainly brought about some vast changes with the least possible inconvenience or friction. Of course I am referring specially to the amalgamation of the local armies of India with her Majesty's service, an undertaking of the greatest magnitude and delicacy. I look back to those days when we were working together with the greatest interest and satisfaction, and I am glad to observe by your letters that you equally have a pleasant remembrance of the times to which I allude.

These were no formal words of gracious acknowledgment, for many other letters from his Royal Highness which Norman left behind him testify to the friendly relations that the Commander-in-Chief maintained with his subordinate, not only at the Horse Guards', but in his subsequent career. One of the measures carried out by Norman during his service at Whitehall was the attachment to the Royal regiment at Woolwich of selected officers of the Indian artillery, which was henceforth to be amalgamated with that exclusive and famous branch of the service.

1861.—Norman was thoroughly enjoying his position at the Horse Guards', and looking forward to another trip to the continent as the guest and companion of his old chief, Lord Clyde, when, in April, 1861, news was received from India which altered all his plans. Lord Canning had formed a commission in India to consider the instructions which his Government had received on the subject of the amalgamation of the Indian troops with the Queen's army. The composition of this commission gave rise to misgivings at home, and it was

decided that Norman should hand over his office to Colonel W. Greathed of the Bengal Engineers during his absence, and return to India to take part in the discussion. This he did with his usual promptitude, leaving three children at home. The terms in which the transfer of Norman's services from the Horse Guards' was asked for and granted were so honourable to him that the following extracts from the official correspondence may be quoted. On April 12, 1861, Colonel Baker wrote to the Military Secretary, Horse Guards', as follows :

At the present time, when it may be expected that the consolidation of the general staff of the British and Indian armies serving in India, which has been enjoined by her Majesty's Government, is about to be accomplished, and with reference also to the changes in the organisation of the Indian forces which are now being carried into effect, it appears to Sir Charles Wood very important that the staff of the Commander-in-Chief in India should comprise the greatest possible amount of administrative ability combined with extensive knowledge and experience of the Indian armies. Sir C. Wood believes that Lieut.-Colonel Norman, now Assistant Military Secretary to H.R.H., possesses this qualification in a very high degree ; and though he would much regret the inconvenience to which his Royal Highness would probably be subjected by the removal of Lieut.-Colonel Norman, he deems it right to express his opinion that that officer's services would be more useful at the present time in India . . . by his resuming the office of Deputy Adjutant-General of the army in Bengal.

The reply sent by General Forster by command of H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, and dated April 15, contained this sentence :

Highly as H.R.H. appreciates the services of Lieut.-Colonel Norman, Assistant Military Secretary, and however great H.R.H.'s regret will be at losing the valuable assistance rendered to him by this officer, yet under the circum-

stances set forth in your communication H.R.H. can only concur in the arguments therein elicited.

Cheerfully accepting the transfer, Norman set forth on his journey, leaving his children with his mother, and proceeding with his wife across the Continent to Venice, whence they took a steamer to Trieste, embarking there on board the Austrian-Lloyd's S.S. *Alexandrine*. After a very hot and trying voyage, in which they encountered the full force of the monsoon near the Sunderbunds, they landed at Calcutta on June 11, 1861, being met on arrival at the pier by Donald Stewart and Mr. Wylie, their uncle.

June 1861.—The new Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Rose, afterwards in 1866 known as Lord Strathnairn, was a stranger to Norman, but although he and his Deputy Adjutant-General (for Norman at once resumed his old appointment) not unfrequently differed, each respected the soldierly qualities of the other, and Sir Hugh, if at times hasty in temper, was always courteous. Lord Canning, who had remained in Calcutta, at once sent for Norman and entered fully into discussion with him on the impending changes.

The army [writes Norman] was at this time in a transition stage, I might say a state of disorganisation, and work in the Adjutant-General's office was very severe, and told upon us in the steamy rains of Calcutta. The Adjutant-General, Colonel Mayhew, had gone to Simla for a change, and I temporarily took up his duties. My two assistants had fever and both had to go home shortly after my arrival. I, too, had fever, and was obliged to go to sea, visiting Akyab, Rangoon, and Moulmain.

Happily a longer change of scene was brought about in another way. Lord Canning proceeded

to Allahabad in October for the purpose of investing the Maharaja Sindhia, the Begum of Bhopal, and others with the Star of India, a new Order strictly limited in numbers, created by Queen Victoria for rewarding services rendered to the Crown in India. After the conclusion of the investiture, Sir Hugh Rose joined his camp at Jullundur, whither Norman had preceded him, and made a tour of inspection in the Punjab. At Lahore a terrible outbreak of cholera had recently carried off 500 British soldiers, and after a searching inquiry the General commanding the division was considered to have failed in his duty, and Norman had to inform him of the decision passed by the Government, removing him from his command. Just as Norman was about to start from Rawalpindi for Peshawar, where he looked forward to revisiting many familiar scenes, he received a telegram announcing that Sir Richard Birch would retire on December 31, 1861, from his post of Secretary to the Government in the Military department, and that he himself was to succeed to the post. Sir Hugh Rose, who had not been consulted, was by no means pleased at the omission, but after discussing the matter with his subordinate, and concurring in his suggestion that Colonel Johnson should replace him as acting Adjutant-General, he felt that he could not object to the arrangement. Lord Canning was staggering under the blow which had recently befallen him in the death of his wife, but he found time to write to Sir Hugh Rose as well as to Norman. To the latter he expressed himself in these terms, written on December 26 :

> You are better qualified than any other officer to fill the post, and therefore it is no more than justice to yourself and to the Government that you should be appointed to it.

But I have very great pleasure in making the appointment which, I believe, will be agreeable to you.

To Sir Hugh Rose Lord Canning expressed the opinion that service in the secretariat would give valuable experience to a military officer of only thirty-four years of age, who might look forward to higher military service in the future. Norman himself cherished the same hopes as he took over the charge of his office under the civil Government in January 1862. But these hopes were not to be fulfilled, and when, after eight and a half years, he was moved from his post, it was to be promoted to a seat on the executive Council of the Governor-General, and not to a military command. The year 1862, therefore, marks a turning-point in his life, for he then commenced his career as a civilian The three appointments which he successively held from 1862 to 1883 naturally led from one to the other, constituting links in the machinery by which the administration of India is carried on. Parliament has given to the Secretary of State for India in Council an entire control over the Government of India, and the Government of India in its turn is vested with authority over all the military affairs of India. To assist the Government of India in the discharge of its civil duties the Viceroy is associated with members of Council, and they in turn take charge of the departments of the administration for which secretaries are appointed. So, too, the Secretary of State is assisted by members of his Council, which he breaks up into committees for the disposal of the work of the various departments of the India Office. Norman's experience as Secretary to the Government of India in the Military department

would no doubt have proved most valuable to him in a divisional command of the army, or as Commander-in-Chief of India. But it was equally serviceable to a member of the two bodies known as the Governor-General of India in Council and the Secretary of State for India in Council. In the next chapter we shall see what use Norman made of his opportunities of serving India as a soldier-civilian.

CHAPTER IX

THE SOLDIER-CIVILIAN, 1862-1883

Qualifications for success—Difficult task of reorganising the Army, both European and native—The Staff Corps—Domestic troubles and breakdown of health—Goes home, 1866—Marriage with Miss Sandys—Appointed member of Viceroy's Council, 1870—Tours—Independence of his views—His title to be heard on the Afghan question—His review of our past and present policy towards the Amir—His opinions on other matters of internal administration—Leaves India, 1877, and declines an offer of service in Egypt—Member of the Council of India in London—Views on the Afghan question, 1880—Deputation to Egypt—Perils of a voyage to Iceland.

1862.—The signal and rapid success which had attended Norman in his military career did not desert him in the new sphere in which he was now called to play his part. He carried into civil life the same principles and methods as had guided him in the discharge of his military duties, and his training in these, coupled with a natural aptitude, enabled him to face the problems of administration and organisation that were henceforth to be his care. He filled in succession the offices of Secretary to the Government of India in the Military department and of a member of the Council of the Governor-General, being transferred later on to a seat on the Council of the Secretary of State for India. There, as elsewhere, his worth was quickly appreciated at its full value; and when, in 1883, a vacancy in the Governorship of Jamaica called for an experienced administrator, no one

was thought better fitted for the post than the soldier-civilian of Indian fame. To the value of the services by which that fame was won, Field-Marshal Earl Roberts bore eloquent testimony on June 5, 1907, when, unveiling a bronze mural tablet erected in St. Paul's Cathedral to his friend's memory, he said :

> It was during his tenure of the appointments of Secretary to the Government of India and then of member of Council that the Indian army was reorganised, and it was mainly owing to his large experience and sound judgment that that army was put upon its present satisfactory footing.

The task was itself one of the greatest difficulty, and it was accomplished in the face of domestic trial, ill health, and even ill will. But fearless devotion to duty, modesty and impartiality, were potent factors in carrying their possessor through the stormy seas.

From 1862 onwards Norman began to experience the usual fate of reformers, and some degree of strain makes itself felt as one reads over the letters which he received in the sixties of the last century from brother officers who had shared with him the perils of the mutiny. To his warm affectionate heart the change of tone must have been painful, but he knew well how to make allowance for disappointments, and there were many of his comrades who never faltered in their love and respect for him. Edwin Johnson and Roberts, for instance, were much concerned at the aspersions cast upon him by certain of the Indian press. 'Roberts concurs with me,' writes the former in reference to a Simla newspaper, 'and I need not say how disgusted I am that you should be subjected to such an

utterly false and malignant attack.' But such men wisely confined themselves to assuring Norman of their sympathy, while he himself neither then nor at any other time during his public service stooped to bandying words with his traducers. He knew well that no great scheme of reorganisation could be carried out without entailing hardship to some and disappointment to many. He shared, moreover, with the whole army, genuine sorrow at seeing the various units of the great Company's military forces broken up, and their glorious traditions and identity merged in the Queen's service. At the same time he placed public interests above all other considerations, and had the courage of his convictions, not even hesitating to differ in some particulars from John Lawrence, whose experience and nobility of character he so heartily admired.

Apart from such general considerations, there were two complications which increased the difficulty of devising any scheme of reorganisation likely to be acceptable to the bulk of officers concerned. The financial condition of India demanded the most rigid economy. In the three years 1857–1860, the annual deficit had averaged twelve millions sterling. Newly imposed taxation reduced this to six millions in the following year, and equilibrium was then reached by the heroic remedy of striking off five millions from an estimate of expenditure amounting to only 29,000,000*l.* Indeed, the revenues of India reached their lowest ebb in 1861. In the second place the Government of India had appointed a commission to report upon the best means of carrying out the recommendations of the Royal Commission on army reorganisation, and they had suggested concessions which could not be

granted. Norman learnt this on his journey to Calcutta, and on June 5, 1861, he wrote a letter to Sir C. Wood, from which the following extract may be made :

I do not think the arguments of the Commission for granting these advantages are tenable, nor can I suppose that their recommendations will be adopted. Meanwhile the minds of all will be in an excited state, and until some official decision is promulgated, either adopting or rejecting the proposals, retirements and consequent promotions will be at a standstill.

After dealing with the Commission's suggestions in detail, he went on to refer to the question of the twelve regiments to be left under the command of the Punjab Government.

In this matter [he said], I am aware that Sir J. Lawrence is strongly of opinion that a certain number of regiments to be stationed on the Punjab frontier should be permanently and entirely under the Punjab Government, altogether removed from the control of the Commander-in-Chief. With great deference to him, I am convinced, from a very intimate acquaintance with the subject, that the arrangement is altogether unnecessary and mischievous. For political purposes, or for any operations, the regiments under the Commander-in-Chief are just as completely available as if they were removed from his control. The civil Government can, in the Punjab, as everywhere else, command the services of troops, and the mere necessity for having a selected brigadier on the Punjab frontier renders it in no way necessary that he alone of the brigadiers should be directly under the civil Government. On the other hand, it is mischievous to have special forces of any kind. Different systems spring up, and when the special forces come into contact with other troops discontent and disagreements arise. I saw much of this in 1857–8, and even later I well remember that a Punjab regiment, lent for the time to the Commander-in-Chief, and doing

duty in a regular military division under a general officer, received instructions as to how it was to perform its garrison duties from the brigadier of the Punjab force residing at a distance—instructions at variance with the wishes of the Major-General who was responsible for the division. In order to upset these orders, the General had to write to the Commander-in-Chief, and the Commander-in-Chief to the Government of India. I shall always hope to see the time when every native regiment is placed under the Commander-in-Chief, who will then be responsible to the Government for the whole army.

It is unnecessary to follow step by step the difficult process of army reorganisation, which has not even yet reached its final goal. Indeed, many of the arrangements introduced in the sixties have been swept away, and although Lord Roberts generously ascribed to Norman the chief credit of the measures taken, he was only one of many who contributed to the result. But some idea of the magnitude of the operation may be gained if it is borne in mind that there were three armies in India, and two distinct European forces. The Bengal native army had been practically swept away by the flood of rebellion, and the Company's European regiments in all three presidencies had been transferred to the service of the Crown, while many of the soldiers had elected to take their discharge rather than be thus handed over. As regards the European portion, the problem was to adjust that part of the three Indian armies to the forces of the Crown serving at home. It seems a simple task to fix the number of Europeans required for service in India and then attach the various units of the force to the corresponding parts of the imperial establishment. The proportion between European and native troops was fixed at one to two in Bengal, and one

to three in Madras and Bombay. The European infantry became regiments of the line, the artillery of the Company, which had covered itself with glory, and the corps of engineers were amalgamated with the Royal Artillery and engineers, not without friction and heartburning on both sides. But all these changes involved complicated questions of length of service abroad, equipment, relief, and general organisation. Even this was not the chief cause of difficulty. At a time when free play was needed during a period of change, the work of reorganisation was clogged by unforeseen difficulties in India and considerations of public policy at home. There was no telegraph between England and India, and financial considerations were as imperative and as confusing in London as in Calcutta. Unless India took regiments off the home establishment at the moment expected, the British estimates would be exceeded; while unless the War Office was willing to receive back troops for which India could not afford to pay, the Indian treasury would be bankrupt. The intentions and wishes of the home authorities were at times misunderstood in Calcutta, and in this perplexity the Duke of Cambridge and Sir C. Wood constantly turned to Norman for help. In a letter dated March 12, 1862, Wood wrote privately to Norman acknowledging the value of the information and suggestions received from him. 'We are reaping the benefit of your appointment, for the Duke of Cambridge and I agree that we have learnt more from your letter than from all other letters for three or four months past.' Light is thrown upon the practical difficulties of the undertaking by the following extract from another of Wood's letters:

You know the system of one-third of the battalions at home and two-thirds abroad. When we considered how many regiments were to be formed in India out of the locals, we calculated how many battalions were necessary for foreign service, and how many would be required at home for reliefs. We allotted fifty-nine battalions to India, and on this supposition we wanted nine battalions more than there are in the British army. Therefore we ordered three out of Bengal, three out of Madras, and three out of Bombay. If we had wanted two battalions less, we should have said three from Bengal and two from both Madras and Bombay. I wrote to Lord Canning and told him not to make the nine regiments, if he did not want fifty-nine battalions for India. Nevertheless, he has, I am afraid, made the nine regiments, and at the same time told me he only wants fifty-seven regiments for India. If so, we shall have two regiments more than we want in the British army, and will have to reduce two. This will assuredly cause great discontent in the British army.

The letter went on to deal with similar difficulties in regard to the cavalry and artillery, and to place Norman in full possession of the facts that he might use his influence accordingly.

In the case of the native army there was not the same complication arising from its relations with the Home army. But the difficulties, if different in character, were not less real. In the first place, native regiments had been hastily recruited in the Punjab during the stress of the mutiny, without any uniform system or any thought save that of present need. The general plan of the reorganisation was called 'irregular,' a somewhat misleading phrase, due to the fact that fewer British officers served with the new native regiments than were required for the old 'regular' regiments of the late native army. To solve the difficulty of promotion a 'Staff Corps' was created, every appoint-

ment of a British officer to a native regiment being deemed a staff appointment carrying with it a staff allowance in addition to the pay of the rank of the officer so appointed, who was taken from the British army. Greater consideration was shown to the feelings of officers than to those of the European soldiers who had been driven like sheep, as they described it, into the fold of the Queen's service. The former were therefore given the option of joining the staff corps, or of remaining with regiments on the old conditions. To the confusion which resulted from dealing with British officers doing the same work under two systems was added further confusion arising from the surplus of officers brought about by the reduction of the native army. Without entering into the technical details of 'off-reckonings,' and other devices for correcting the inequalities of promotion due to these measures, enough has perhaps been said to show that the transference of the Indian army from the Company to the Crown was fertile of difficulties which taxed to the uttermost the experience and good temper of the Secretary to Government.

1862.—The wear and tear of official life was aggravated by failing health, domestic sorrows, and constant changes in the offices of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief. Norman's fine spirit had carried him through the hardships of the mutiny, but he needed a longer term of rest than he had enjoyed at home. Soon after his return to India he began to show signs, to others unmistakable, of what he had endured; and that he was himself apprehensive of a breakdown is shown by a suggestion which he made that he should return to the Horse Guards', a proposal

which H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge cordially welcomed. Anxiety on account of her husband weighed upon Mrs. Norman, who had already been tried to the uttermost by the Indian climate and the dangers through which she and so many dear friends had passed. On October 3, 1862, despite the skilful attention of Dr. Fayrer, she died at Calcutta, aged thirty years, leaving four daughters to mourn her loss. Writing to his mother, Norman told her of his own incapacity for work and of his intention to sail for Galle, in order that he might escape for a few weeks from the terrible associations of Calcutta. A cold weather tour with the new Viceroy, Lord Elgin, in 1863, did something to restore his health and spirits, and in September of the following year he married Jemima Anne, daughter of Captain Knowles, and widow of Captain A. B. Temple of the Bengal Staff Corps.

1865.—But he had not reached the end of his misfortunes, for in December, 1865, both husband and wife were carried on board the P. and O. steamer at Calcutta in what was supposed to be a dying state. While Norman lay unconscious with an attack of typhoid fever, she passed away and was buried at sea in the Bay of Bengal. He was carefully tended by Dr. Cox, and reached home *via* Marseilles early in 1866.

1866.—After a short stay with his children at Weston-super-Mare, he was warned that he must give up all hopes of returning to India. But he had always been passionately fond of travel, and he determined to see what a change of scene could do for him. After a long tour in Italy, Switzerland, and on the Rhine, he went on a yachting cruise to the Channel Islands and the coast of

Ireland, finding himself so much better that he resumed his travels on the Continent, and at length, with the consent of his medical advisers, sailed in March 1867 for Calcutta.

1867.—Here he learnt that the authorities were preparing for the contingency of a war with Abyssinia, and ample scope was afforded to his energies in assisting in the equipment and despatch of Indian troops under his former chief of the staff, Sir Robert Napier. He himself accompanied the headquarters of the expedition to the mouth of the Hugli, taking a short cruise in a pilot brig and returning to Calcutta to resume his duties as Secretary to Government.

1869.—Lord Mayo replaced Sir John Lawrence as Governor-General on January 12, 1869, and Norman accompanied his new chief to the historic durbar at Ambala, where Sher Ali, having now won his way through civil war to the throne occupied by his late father, Dost Muhammad, was welcomed, and encouraged to make Afghanistan strong, and the steady friend of the British in India. Thence the party proceeded on a tour through the Punjab, reaching Simla in May. Norman had now developed an all-round capacity which marked him out for higher responsibilities. Every Viceroy with whom he had served entertained the highest regard for his advice, and even as secretary he had acquired an influence in the direction of public affairs which, still comparatively young as he was, indicated him as the next member of Council. A change had also brought back sunshine into his domestic life, and was to gladden his home for the rest of his days.

1870.—On March 1, 1870, he married, at Bhagal-

pur, Alice Claudine, daughter of a civil servant, Teignmouth Sandys, a lady who admirably filled the *rôle* of public life, a hospitable hostess who interested herself in charitable and benevolent works, and later on made Government House in Jamaica and Queensland a centre of healthy social influence.

During the next six years Norman served as a member of the Councils of Lord Mayo, Lord Northbrook, and Lord Lytton. He had already acted for three months in that capacity under Lord Lawrence during the temporary absence of Sir Henry Durand, and now in June, 1870, he was selected by the Duke of Argyll, on the strong recommendation of Lord Mayo, to fill the vacancy created by the promotion of Durand to be Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. One cannot help noting the strange fatality which, throughout Norman's career, dealt death to those around him and threw into strong relief the charmed life which he himself enjoyed. Durand, who owed his nomination to the Indian army to the same director from whom Norman received his appointment, died at Tonk by a deplorable accident within seven months of his becoming Lieutenant-Governor. A little more than a year after his death Lord Mayo was assassinated by a convict at Port Blair on February 8, 1872.

1872.—The mournful duty devolved upon Norman, with the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and Sir Barrow Ellis, of proceeding down the Hugli to meet the *Daphne* as she made her way to Calcutta with the mortal remains of the late Viceroy. Two years later it fell to him to visit the scene of the murder in order to consider any changes in the

system of that penal settlement that might be advisable.

1874.—Sir Henry's report, for he became K.C.B. in 1873, led to reforms. Hitherto the islands had been reserved for life convicts, on the ground that it was almost impossible to adjust the penal system to two such different classes of criminals as those transported for life and others for a lesser period; and that the deterrent effect of a life sentence would be weakened by the return of any convicts to India. Norman, however, advocated the infusion of a certain proportion of shorter-term convicts from whose ranks the petty officers might be recruited, and who might be associated with the working gangs as a leaven of reforming influence. He also recommended an arrangement by which a limited number of life convicts might look forward to an ultimate remission of their sentences, either as a reward for good service, or in due course after twenty years of punishment if their behaviour had been good and their return to liberty was not likely to be dangerous to society. These and other measures for the accommodation, control, and security of the population were adopted by the Government of India in 1874.

The new member's active habits and taste for travel found special scope in the examination of the strength and the defects of military stations and forts. As soon as he took over the charge of his office he initiated a practice, which has been followed by his successors, of visiting as many cantonments as possible between the date of leaving or reaching Simla and the transfer of the headquarters of Government to or from Calcutta. His 'notes,' as he modestly called them, of a visit to Burma in

April and May, 1871, constituted a comprehensive review of the civil and military administration of the province since the acquisition of its two portions in 1826 and 1853 respectively. Its commerce and communications, internal as well as external, and the character of its population were surveyed with reference to the position of its troops, and the possible necessity for reinforcements. Hospitals, barracks, armaments, equipment, means of transport, and food supplies were minutely dealt with, and besides suggestions for improving the comfort of the soldiers and their moral welfare, valuable hints were thrown out on the relations of the civil with the military authorities and a variety of other matters.

The duties of a member of the Council of the Governor-General are not confined to the administration of the particular department under his direct control. For India is not governed, as might be inferred from the pages of the daily press, by a Viceroy, however prominent may be the position which he occupies in the public eye, but by a Board known to the law as the Governor-General in Council, in other words the Governor-General and the members of his Council. Some members of Council, especially those who have passed their careers in the army or at the bar, and have acquired no personal experience of civil administration, have been content to range themselves on the Viceroy's side as a matter of course in questions of public policy not affecting their own department. Norman was not one of these. He exercised his own judgment and soon became a force in the conduct of affairs. With only the training which he had enjoyed as a Secretary to Government, he rose almost at once

to the full measure of his rights and duties as a responsible member of the body vested with the supreme control and direction of Indian administration. He had a rare knowledge of frontier affairs, gained at Peshawar under great masters, and he was not the man to allow his voice to be silenced in the Council of Calcutta by any pressure other than such as was justified by the law or the constitution. He therefore took a firm stand on the Afghan question when Lord Lytton replaced Lord Northbrook, and ultimately reaped the reward due to, but not always won in public life by, consistency and courage. Since he not only recorded his protest at the time, but dwelt upon it in his letters to his friends, he may be left to enforce it in his own words.

It has to be borne in mind that the Government of India is the Government of the Governor-General in Council, with a power vested in the Governor-General of, under certain circumstances, overruling the views of the majority of the Council. In such a case, however, the reasons are formally recorded on both sides. When it is necessary for the Governor-General to be absent from his Council, he takes with him the powers of the Governor-General in Council; but speaking broadly, the acts of the Government of India are those of the Governor-General in Council. When members of the Government dissent from resolutions or acts of the Council, they have the power of recording their reasons for dissent, and this power is usually exercised when the resolutions or acts objected to are reported to the Secretary of State.

He then proceeded to consider how far any instructions personally or privately conveyed to the Governor-General by the Secretary of State for India might affect the powers of a member of Council.

I am not aware that this form of address does away with the necessity for all the orders or proceedings to give effect to these instructions being those of the Governor-General in Council, which body is by law vested with the control of affairs in India; or secondly, of the Governor-General when absent from Council, and vested with the powers of the Governor-General in Council; or thirdly, of the Governor-General overruling his Council.

Upon this principle he took his stand, and boldly stated his opinion, adding, 'I give my views frankly, for it seems to me that the opinions of all of us should be placed before the Viceroy before we are committed to measures of importance.'

It is outside the province of the writer to introduce into his narrative any expression of his own views upon the merits of a controversy which raged fiercely in the last century, and of which the echoes are liable to be awakened at any moment. The Afghan question was the turning-point in Norman's civil career, and he felt the call to arms on that battle-field of pens and paper as strongly as he had on the blood-stained plain beneath the ridge of Delhi. No account of his life would be complete without advertence to it, for his outspoken advocacy of his views brought him a rebuke from his patron, the Duke of Cambridge, caused many of his friends to fall away from him, and, on the other hand, inspired that confidence in his judgment which made a British Government offer him preferment in the Colonial service and finally the high office of Governor-General of India.

It could not be denied by those who differed from him that Norman was entitled to speak on the subject. Modest as he was, he claimed a right to

be heard as one who had seen with his own eyes the disastrous results produced by want of attention to hard facts. Just as Thucydides, having himself caught the plague, left it to the physicians to speculate as to its causes, contenting himself with stating, 'What it actually was, and adding facts which will furnish any man who lays them to heart, with knowledge and the means of calculation before him in case the same misfortune should ever again occur,' so Norman prefaced his advice by a preliminary record of past facts taken out of the experience of his own life.

What, then, were the events which had entered into Norman's life and led him to his conclusions? He recalled the excitement which prevailed in India when he first landed. The dire disgrace of Elphinstone's surrender, and the massacre in the passes of which he had heard from the sole survivor, Dr. Brydon, were indeed avenged by the victories of Nott and Pollock. But what was the outcome? The finances of India were deeply embarrassed; British prestige suffered; there was nothing to show for the war, and Dost Muhammad returned to Kabul with bitter feelings of resentment. Presently Norman was fighting in the second Punjab war, and was acutely impressed with the feeling that after Chilianwala the fate of the Company's empire in India was being staked on the issue at Gujrat. As a result of our previous mistakes, and of our treatment of their country, the Afghans fought on the side of the Sikhs at that battle. Then followed a change of policy, at first safe and reasonable, with every step of which Norman was familiar. Lord Dalhousie had entered into an engagement with the Dost 'to forget and forgive' on both

sides, solemnly engaging 'never to interfere' in the Amir's territories. In 1857 Canning went a step further on the same path, granting his Afghan ally a subsidy in view of war with Persia, but repeating the guarantee of non-interference. What followed? Again the Company was fighting—this time with mutinous soldiers—for its existence. But the Afghans once more held aloof, and took no advantage of the Company's difficulties. In 1863 the Dost died, and civil war ensued between his numerous sons with their respective adherents. The Government of India stood by with folded hands, and not until Sher Ali had entered Kabul in triumph in September 1868, did Lawrence step in to his assistance with a gift of arms and money to enable him to set his house in order. Then came the reception of the Amir by Lord Mayo at Ambala in March 1869, and Norman had seen with satisfaction that the Governor-General adhered to the policy of his predecessor. Assuring his guest that he was anxious to see Afghanistan strong and united, and that he would give no countenance to any who might rise in rebellion, Lord Mayo emphatically reiterated the declaration that his Government would not interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. Lord Northbrook's administration was guided by the same principles, and though Sher Ali had been disappointed at the outcome of a dispute with Persia in respect of the boundary of the two countries in Sistan, the British Commissioner's award not being agreeable to him, his conduct had been quite correct, and in Norman's opinion allowance was to be made for his difficulties with his own subjects.

1876.—Such had been the course of British

dealings with the Amir when Lytton relieved Northbrook of his appointment in 1876. Norman had already received an extension of a year without any solicitation on his part, and he was now asked to add another year to his service on the Council. He was aware that the Government of Lord Beaconsfield, which had succeeded Mr. Gladstone's in February 1874, took a serious view of the advance of Russia, and was anxious to make sure of Afghanistan before any collision occurred. But he held firmly that a pressing policy would alienate the Amir, inevitably weakening our position in that outwork of the Indian empire, and he felt it a duty which he owed alike to himself and to Lord Lytton to state clearly his own views. He readily admitted that events might force us to intervene, with or without the Amir's consent, if the integrity of his dominions was threatened by a foreign power; but 'strong measures are much more likely to be acceptable if we forbear from forcing on him measures which he does not like, and which, in the opinion of many, are not necessary.' Threats were only worse than a lack of appreciation of the difficult position held by a ruler of Afghanistan. We had no right to scold him because he was unable to protect a British minister and his party, since the fanaticism of his subjects and their hostility to Christians were difficulties which he could not overcome. 'As to threats, they mean something or nothing. If nothing, our using of them will hardly raise us in the estimation of the natives. If something, they should be carefully considered before they are uttered, and some general notion formed of what we intend to do.' The Amir's aims were not necessarily ours, and caution was therefore needed

before we committed ourselves to threats leading to action.

The Amir's first object is to maintain himself in power, all other objects being secondary in his eyes. Our first object is not so much to maintain him on his throne as to keep Afghanistan strong against aggression, and to have the Afghan people on our side. The difficulty may therefore arise of our being only able to keep him on his throne at the cost of the hostility of the nation, and their hostility might be justified by good reasons.

Therefore, it was necessary to consider both the people's wishes and the Amir's power. Much had been said of his inability to keep our neighbours, the Afridis, in order. But this was 'a task which none of his predecessors had ever successfully performed.' Nay, we could ourselves do no better. 'If the Amir was to give us *carte blanche* to deal with the Afridis, we should find it, with all our resources, a difficult matter.' So, too, in regard to any demand for commercial privileges. 'We cannot deal with the Amir without giving weight to the conditions of his rule and the feelings of his subjects. It is impossible for the Amir to manage his people so that they should consent to free and friendly intercourse with the British Government and its subjects.' In short, a nervous dread of Russia should not induce us to exaggerate the alleged unfriendliness of Sher Ali, or to underrate his difficulties.

My opinion is, that up to the time of Lord Northbrook's departure the Amir had no feeling of hostility towards us, though he was somewhat out of temper, and was disquieted by communications which more or less pointed to measures distasteful to him.

Turning from this point to the feelings of the people of India, he vigorously urged a policy of reserve and economy.

> Our best course is to remain within our own frontier; strengthen ourselves by placing troops within easy reach, equipping them, improving our railways, and fortifying Peshawar; to endeavour to keep on friendly terms with the Afghans; watch all that goes on; and be prepared to enter into friendly communication with Russia if opportunity arise, so as to avoid misunderstanding. Should these measures fail and Russia press on, we shall then be in a position to go to war with unwasted resources. I hope the occupation of particular places in advance will be steadily forbidden.

On this point he argued from careful estimates that the 'annual cost of occupying Herat would be not less than three and a half to four millions sterling.' Indeed, it might lead to a vastly greater expenditure. 'Our contact,' he observed, 'with the subjects of Afghanistan would entail constant irritation and disagreement.' On the other hand, experience showed that the Afghans could not operate against us in the plains on our own border, and

> let us never forget our position in India, and that dangers worse than a Russian invasion are possible. We might bitterly regret the absence of several thousands of troops in positions beyond our frontier, whence in the moment of need it might be impossible to withdraw them, and where they themselves might be in great need of support.

Finally, he recognised that 'a general acting upon the defensive usually strikes blows in advance,' but it was bad policy to anticipate such movements which must depend upon our military strength and the condition of India at the moment.

Such were his views on the great question of Afghan policy, to which he had to revert at a later stage when his friend Roberts had brought his military operations to a successful issue. There were many other controversies and affairs of state in which he took a prominent part. To one of these he devoted some space in his diary. The Indian Government had been instructed to pass a law abolishing the 5 per cent. duty levied on cotton goods imported from England or abroad. Norman admitted that the official element did, and must, predominate in the Legislative Council, and that officials were bound to obey the orders of superior authority. But although the control and direction of Indian affairs must rest with the Home authorities, and although a power of veto over legislative enactments had been conferred upon the Secretary of State, he urged that it was unconstitutional for the Home authorities to draw into their hands the legislative activity expressly entrusted by law to the Indian Councils for making laws. In this conflict he did not fight without allies. In others he was content to stand alone if necessary, but his views upon the large questions of administration which came before the Government of India proved generally sound, and were endorsed by his colleagues. He laid great stress upon the advantage of entrusting native officials ' with responsible and honourable positions, so as to make them efficient, loyal, and contented.' He condemned the income tax as unsuitable for India, and as regards partitions of provinces he wrote, ' Changes in the distribution of territory, unless absolutely required for public reasons of importance, are objectionable. They disturb the public mind, and

give rise to considerable administrative difficulties.' He entirely concurred with Lord Dalhousie that to be safe in India we must be strong, and to keep order we must not trust only to native police. 'Our hold on order would be slight indeed if we had not the presence of a thoroughly efficient as well as a sufficiently large force of Europeans in the country.'

1877.—It can be readily understood that, circumstances being what they were, his last year of office in India did not pass without some degree of friction. But it is due to Lord Lytton to say that, however much he differed from his colleague, he generously recognised his worth, and when the time for his departure approached the Viceroy expressed his sense of his valued services at a dinner given at Government House on March 1, 1877, aptly referring to him as 'a soldier statesman' who had taken part in almost every campaign during the past thirty years, and conspicuously participated in every large administrative measure since he entered the civil department. 'One of the moving and animating spirits of the famous siege of Delhi,' and ere long 'the youngest Lieutenant-Colonel in the service covered with medals and decorations, he found a fresh field of more extended usefulness in the military department of the Government of India.' Thence promoted 'to the highest civil position to which it is possible for any military officer in the country to aspire,' and having twice acted as President in Council,

during the whole of the period my honourable friend and colleague has placed unreservedly, and most loyally, at the service of the head of the Government his great experience, his quite unrivalled memory, and his astonishing mastery of detail. What I owe to his modesty and forbearance, to

his conciliatory consideration of many projects and opinions, not always in accordance with his own views, is only less than I owe to his great experience, his cautious judgment, and his indefatigable industry.

On the eve of his departure from India Norman evidently looked upon his career in the service of the State as about to close for ever, and, sending his wife home in advance of himself, he sailed for China and Japan, desiring to increase his knowledge of the Far East, and intending to pass through the United States on his way to England. At each British station, naval or military, which he visited, he made a careful inspection of the defences, filling his diary with particulars of the fortifications, the British or foreign ships in the harbour, and any suggestions that occurred to him for strengthening the positions. He reached Queenstown on July 23, and soon afterwards received a letter from Lord Northbrook saying that he hoped to find some work for him.[1] This was followed up by another from the same friend, telling him that Mr. Goschen had asked him whether Norman would go to Egypt as a controller of the Daira of the Viceroy and trustee of the creditors, with a salary of 2,000*l.* a year. Goschen himself wrote to explain more fully the position and duties of the controllers, who would be responsible for the proceeds, but not the management, of the estates. He expressed the hope that the controllers would obtain an influence over the Khedive, and persuade him that paid labour was better than the existing system of forced labour.

[1] The *Times*, in its issue of September 17, 1877, devoted a column to a review of Norman's career, ending with the words, 'He is not a man who will be suffered to remain long in repose, however well he may have earned it.'

Norman's objections to the corvée were very deep, and his knowledge of French had not been improved by his long service in India; he therefore hesitated to accept the post. 'My Indian feelings would revolt at the continuance of any system of squeezing the tenants,' he wrote to Lord Northbrook, and after further thought definitely declined the offer.

1878.—He was not long left out in the cold. On February 7, 1878, General Sir A. T. Wilde, member of the Council of India, died, and Lord Salisbury at once submitted Norman's name to her Majesty for the post. The appointment exactly suited Norman, who wished to remain in England, and was delighted to resume an official connection with Indian affairs. He soon found that the duties of a councillor at the India Office differed from those of a councillor of the Government of India with charge of a department. But he readily adapted himself to the change, and had no reason to be dissatisfied either with the work or the share of influence which fell to his lot. With his usual accuracy of detail, he recorded in his 'log' or diary that he attended forty-one meetings of Council in the year, 137 meetings of committees, and spent 244 days in the office. The enormous current of correspondence which flows from India into the office at Whitehall passes through the secretaries to committees before it is finally disposed of by the Secretary of State in Council. Norman was chairman of the Military, and member of other committees, and his modesty, thoroughness and experience soon made him a power. During his tenure of the office, from February 1878 to his resignation of it in November 1883, many important decisions were arrived at, from

some of which he formally dissented, but the question which called forth his fighting qualities was that which at another stage he had encountered at Simla. When Lord Cranbrook succeeded Lord Salisbury as Secretary of State the Afghan problem was again before statesmen. Lawrence had passed away, leaving a double portion of his spirit to his friend and disciple. At the express wish of Lady Lawrence, Henry Norman had been asked in July 1879 to be the late Viceroy's pall-bearer, as one who had 'shared his labours and was ever among the most trusted of his advisers.' When, therefore, the cause for which Lawrence had fought was again in jeopardy, it was inevitable that Norman should hear a call from the tomb as well as one from his own conscience, and raise aloft the standard of the party of 'masterly inactivity.'

1880.—The question of paramount importance which Norman had to consider in 1880, as member of the Council of India, was the natural sequel of that which he had discussed as a member of the Council of Lord Northbrook's Government in India. In January 1876 the Home Government had been warned—Norman himself being prominent among those who sided with the Viceroy—that a patient adherence to the policy of Canning, Lawrence and Mayo afforded the only promise of establishing British relations with Afghanistan on a satisfactory footing. To force a British Resident on the Amir and to browbeat him must lead to a rupture, and that in turn would destroy the peace of Afghanistan, and defeat the one object of creating a strong and friendly country on the Indian border. In 1880 Norman could look back upon these prophecies with more sorrow at their realisation than sense of satisfac-

tion at his own foresight. In the short interval a British mission had been turned back at Ali Masjid on September 21, 1878, by the Amir's orders. Within two months British troops advanced by three passes, the Khaibar, the Kuram, and the Bolan, and after a victory at Paiwar Kotal they held possession of the greater portion of the enemy's country. Sher Ali fled, and dying shortly afterwards was succeeded by his son, Yakub Khan, who signed the treaty of Gandamak on May 26, 1879. The new Amir assigned to his conquerors the districts of Kuram, Sibi, and Pishin, and agreed to receive Sir Louis Cavagnari as British Resident at Kabul. The Resident, with his staff, was murdered on September 3, and British troops again advanced. Stewart and Roberts played the part which Nott and Pollock had played before them. Fresh laurels were added to the triumphs of British arms, and fresh disasters also, both military and political. Thirty thousand troops in the field had cost India a heavy sum, and left Afghanistan once more broken up and sullen. Abdur Rahman Khan, who had long been a refugee in Russian territory, fortunately extricated the British Government from the dilemma in which they were placed, and Afghanistan from anarchy. Once more the work of creating a strong and friendly nation began *de novo*. But what was to be done with the three districts ceded by the treaty of Gandamak? What with Kandahar, which was still under British control when Abdur Rahman was recognised as ruler of Afghanistan at a durbar held at Kabul on July 22, 1880? Should we keep these portions of Afghanistan, or should we restore them and retrace our steps, boldly admitting that we had gained nothing by the war and the

actions which had provoked it? That was the question to which Norman addressed himself in the summer of 1880.[1]

He rejected any half measures of supporting an Afghan ruler of Kandahar for whose Government we could not make ourselves responsible, and whose position would only be weakened by our material support. We must either annex the province or else restore it to the Amir. Annexation would be very expensive, would require an addition to our military forces, and lead us into conflicts with the neighbouring tribes 'without adding one iota to the security of our possessions in India.' As to the wishes of the people around Kandahar, 'they cannot desire our rule, they detest it, and have availed themselves of every good opportunity to show their detestation.' Norman then proceeded to consider the best line for our north-western frontier on the assumption that we did not hamper ourselves by the retention of Kandahar. Would an advance give us a better position against Afghanistan, or the tribes on the frontier, or Russia? We had nothing to fear from an Afghan invasion of India, while the interposition of the border tribes between us and the Afghans saved us from any causes of quarrel with the latter. Pishin, Kuram, and the Khaibar were three widely separated and isolated frontier positions of which the occupation could only weaken us. 'In truth, none of the three positions can possibly exercise any possible influence over the border tribes with whom we have had serious trouble, the Mahsud Waziris or the tribes on the Yusufzai border.' Turning then to the alleged

[1] An article on the 'Scientific Frontier' was contributed by Sir Henry Norman to the *Fortnightly Review*, January 1, 1879.

advantage to be gained in the event of war with Russia, he held that

> any Russian advance, if indeed it is possible, would be made at great risk, and must be effected with such slowness and deliberation as to give us leisure twenty times over to occupy any or all the posts on the scientific frontier, and also Kabul and Kandahar, before a Russian advance could have made itself felt.

We should only waste troops, exhaust our finances, and perhaps find that, after all, invasion, if it occurred, took a different route from the districts which we had so laboriously held. The Kuram, in particular, was not a probable line of advance; moreover, troops placed there might not be easily withdrawn when needed elsewhere. Generally, too, a forward movement 'extended our sphere of irritation,' and alienated the sympathies of the local population. Service beyond the frontier was unpopular, and rendered the recruiting of the Indian army a difficult task. Finally, as to the cost of keeping troops in the Khaibar, Pishin, and Kuram, he entered into calculations which showed that we should have to spend a million sterling a year more on the army, whereas our position would be much stronger if this were laid out on railways and administrative improvements. For all these reasons he advocated 'an entire withdrawal within our own frontier,' and in regard to the question of prestige and native opinion, observed,

> No doubt natives of intelligence feel that we have made a great mistake in going into Afghanistan, but the mischief is done, and will not be repaired by stopping there. The natives know that on every occasion we have defeated the Afghans, and they will certainly know that we shall

be stronger in India when we come away and leave the strain of an occupation behind us. Further, I am fain to believe that they will feel it is on the whole more just on our part to leave the Afghans to themselves.

It would not be difficult to criticise parts of Norman's argument. Indeed, when in later years he became aware of the extent to which Russian communications had been developed on the Afghan border, he modified his estimate of the time which it would take a Russian force to reach Herat or Kabul ; but his views on the great controversy have been quoted because he urged them outside as well as inside the doors of the India Office, and exchanged blows even with his friends who differed from him.

A member of the Council of India has no separate official existence apart from the body with which he is associated, the Secretary of State in Council. His own actions or views, whether in agreement with, or in disagreement from his colleagues, are properly kept to himself ; and a biographer is not required to remove a veil which the subject of his biography has not himself moved aside by any appeal to the public ear. It is enough to say that both the Secretary of State and his colleagues highly valued Norman's opinion on every matter that came before them. He was also employed at times on special duty. In 1882 Lord Hartington, in consultation with the War Office, requested Norman to proceed to Egypt and there confer with the principal officer of accounts of the Indian contingent regarding various troublesome questions of the incidence of British and Indian charges which had arisen in connection with the participation of Indian troops in the military demonstration required by the course of events in Europe. The duty was

performed to the entire satisfaction of all the departments concerned.

The years which he spent as a member of the Council of India were very happy years, and they enabled him to gratify his love of the sea. He kept a yacht, and whenever leave from his official duties permitted of it, he went for a cruise in the *Silene*. In 1883, shortly before resigning his appointment at the India Office, he undertook a voyage to Iceland and back, which nearly ended disastrously. With a brief account of that peril this chapter must be brought to a close. Leaving London on June 13 he joined the S.S. *Camoens* of Leith, 820 tons register, in Granton harbour, and had hardly passed the Faroes before he recorded in his diary of June 17, ' the old captain, who seems past work, ought not to have come this voyage.' The Westerman Islands, 730 miles from Granton, were reached in ninety-three hours, Reykjavik was left on the 20th, and after several unnecessary collisions with the floating ice, it was reported on the morning of the 23rd that water was pouring into the vessel. ' As I was the only soldier on board and also the oldest man, I settled not to leave the ship until the captain did. Provisions were put into the boats, and all was ready whenever she should show signs of going down. It was a mere question of time.' Fortunately a favourable beach presented itself near Ægis Fjord, and here the vessel was run ashore with several plates in her bows severely damaged. While the necessary repairs were being effected, Norman made a dash for the Isa Fjord overland, but was beaten back by snow and fog, just regaining the *Camoens* as she made a start for the open sea on June 29. This attempt

failed, but it was resumed with better success on the following day. At 10 A.M. on Sunday, July 1, there was fresh cause for alarm.

> We ran full tilt in a most lubberly way into an iceberg at half-speed, and got a tremendous shock. It was quite inexcusable, for the floe could be seen 400 yards off, and there was open water on either side of it. No lookout was kept from the forecastle, though there had been suggestions from the passengers that one should be placed there.

At last, however, the ship reached Reykjavik, obtaining there much needed supplies, for its large cargo of emigrants had suffered severely from want of food, and some had died from privation. Five days later Granton harbour was entered, and Norman hurried to town to reassure his family, who had been alarmed by the reports published in the newspapers.

CHAPTER X

THE COLONIAL GOVERNOR, 1883-1896

Appointed Governor of Jamaica—Recent history of the Island—Tension of public mind on Norman's arrival—His firm and tactful attitude—Revulsion of feeling in his favour—The Gibbons case—Cruises to neighbouring islands—Trinidad inquiry—Results of his administration—Testimony of Sir Edward Noel-Walker—Transfer to Queensland, 1888—Contrast between Jamaica and Queensland—State of politics in the dominion—Financial and trade crisis—Norman's accessibility to all—Views on the partition of Queensland, national defence and federation—Secret of his popularity—Testimony to it from private and public sources—Acceptance of the appointment of Viceroy of India—Reasons for withdrawing it.

Soon after his return from Iceland, Norman received a letter from Lord Derby, who had joined Mr. Gladstone's Government as Colonial Secretary on the reconstruction of the Ministry at the end of 1882, asking him whether he would like to have his name submitted to her Majesty for the vacant office of Governor of Jamaica.

1883.—Lord Derby's letter, dated September 27, 1883, appealed to Norman's sense of duty, and he accepted without hesitation the call to serve his country in a critical position. 'The post is one in which there will be a great deal to do, and a very general concurrence of opinion points to you as the person best qualified to do it. The term of office is six years; the salary will be 6,000*l.*' Such were the terms of the appointment, and on December 21, 1883, the guns from the saluting battery at

Port Royal announced to the expectant and somewhat suspicious inhabitants of Jamaica that a new chapter in their history had commenced with the arrival of the Captain-General of the Forces and Governor, who was to succeed Sir Anthony Musgrave.

No part of the British dominions has suffered more from the buffets of nature in the shape of hurricanes and earthquakes, and from constitutional and industrial disturbances, than the small island in the Caribbean Sea, half the size of Wales, which was discovered by Columbus in 1494, taken from the Spaniards by Cromwell's admirals, and recognised as a British possession by the treaty of Madrid in 1670. At an early date it acquired a free constitution without the laborious process of preparation and education to enable it to discharge the responsibilities of independence. At the Restoration, Jamaica passed from military to civil law, and, without even a charter granted by Parliament or a concession from the Crown, drifted into representative government. The commission of appointment then issued to General Edward D'Oyley, Governor-in-Chief, directed him to call together a representative body to assist him in the administration. Of this body as many members were to be elected 'as convenient.' After a while the Governor's discretion was taken from him by an act of the local legislature, which laid down a system of election by parishes. The island grew prosperous by methods which rested upon violence and slavery. The 'buccaneers' made Port Royal the storehouse of their ill-gotten wealth, while the 'maroons,' descended from the African slaves left by the Spaniards, firmly established themselves in the

Blue Mountains to the east of the island. The abolition of the slave trade in 1807, followed in 1834 by the abolition of slavery, altered the status of 324,000 slaves then resident in the country, and the grant of six millions by way of compensation to the slave owners was no cure for the social and industrial revolution which ensued. The authorities began to quarrel among themselves. The Government included a Governor and privy council, a legislative council, and an assembly of forty-seven elected members. The assembly usurped all powers of legislature and government by the simple expedient of refusing supplies. Under the constitution any one of its members might propose a grant of money, and all laid themselves open to the imputation of profiting by the expenditure of it. When the discriminating duties on sugar were repealed, distress followed the fall in prices, and Jamaica refused to take advantage of the loans granted by Parliament to the other sugar colonies. In sullen despair its proprietors and traders preferred to drink the cup of distress to the dregs, vainly hoping that their misery might lead to a reversal of the Acts repealing the duties. In such a state of public opinion the public conscience became demoralised. The island's debt increased, the administration of justice became a scandal, and Lord Melbourne in 1839 introduced a Bill for suspending the constitution. This he failed to carry, and disorder and administrative paralysis continued unabated until 1854, when the constitution of the council was altered, the colony being thenceforth governed by a Governor and council of twelve members nominated by the Crown, with a house of assembly consisting of forty-five members chosen by a very limited electorate.

The comparative harmony established by these changes was short-lived. Persistent hostility between planters and labourers, whites and negroes, was in 1865 aggravated by a quarrel about 'back lands,' which the negroes had brought back to a state of cultivation only to find that the lands were reclaimed by their white fellow-subjects. To quell the disturbances which ensued the Governor, Edward John Eyre, placed the whole of Surrey, outside the city of Kingston, under martial law, and allowed Gordon, the champion of the rights of the negroes, to be forcibly removed from that city to Morant Bay, within the limits of martial law, tried and executed. Public excitement was inflamed by these proceedings and by the outburst of indignation with which news of them was received in the United Kingdom. 'Under the influence of panic and despair,' as Lord Derby afterwards wrote, the assembly of Jamaica put an end to its own existence, and a fresh succession of constitutional troubles was the outcome.

By an order in Council dated June 11, 1866, the Queen created a legislative council for Jamaica, and by amendments passed in the same year and in 1869 this council was increased in 1881 to nine official and nine unofficial, but nominated, members. As soon, however, as the new scheme was introduced, the members of the late assembly repented them of their act in abolishing the previous constitution, and many of their fellow-citizens affirmed that their representatives had acted *ultra vires*. Much had to be done and was done by Sir John Peter Grant, who had brought a valuable experience of administration gained in India to the discharge of his duties as Governor of the island, in order to establish public

credit and good administration. But expenditure increased, and the taxpayer complained of the alleged extravagance of the officially controlled council. When, then, in 1883, it was necessary to use that majority in order to compel the colony to pay the damages assessed on account of the seizure of the *Florence*, a vessel suspected of a breach of the foreign enlistment laws, the non-official members brought matters to a deadlock by resigning in a body, and public opinion supported them by inducing others not to accept the posts thus vacated. A deputation was sent to London to wait upon Lord Derby and press for a return to the old form of government which had been tried until 1866 and had failed. As an argument that might appeal to British opinion, it was urged that the coloured inhabitants were many of them highly educated, and able to control the public revenues through their elected representatives. Lord Derby was cautious, and refused to be drawn into any exposition of the intentions of Government, but he promised 'to take a new departure, and to introduce something of an elective character into the new arrangements that are to be made.' The deputation withdrew suspecting that they were not to get all they expected, and in this frame of mind they returned to Jamaica, and then awaited the arrival of their new Governor with the secret instructions which it was known he was to bring.

Such was the tension of the public mind, and such had been the traditional relations between the Governor and his colleagues in the work of administration, when Norman stepped ashore to inaugurate his first term of office in his new sphere of Colonial service. He was not denied the courtesy of a public

welcome, but Mr. Kemble, who delivered the address on behalf of the island, took care to avoid any misunderstanding as to the tone of the popular mind.

> We trust [he said] that your accession to office will be signalised by the removal of the disabilities and grievances which the colony has endured for the past seventeen years, and by the introduction of such a measure of reform as will give to the inhabitants of this ancient and loyal colony some control over the taxation and expenditure, and a legitimate share in the management of the legislative machinery in the country.

Norman wisely determined not to mar the grace of the welcome he was receiving by giving unpleasant news. He promised to announce his instructions with the least delay, and to give them the most liberal interpretation of which they admitted. On the next day the official gazette in a special issue contained the Colonial Office despatches couched in a sympathetic but firm tone. The first of these documents announced that her Majesty's Government was not prepared to revert to the arrangements which were in force before 1866, deeming that 'a moderate step in advance will be preferable.' The members of the council were not to be increased in number, but the unofficial members were to be elected; and 'in questions involving the imposition of new taxes or the appropriation of public money for any other purpose than the payment of salaries already assigned to persons now employed on the fixed establishment, the vote of the official members shall, as a general rule, not be recorded against that of the non-official members, if not less than six of the latter are present and agreed.' A Royal Commission was to be appointed to report on the

franchise and electoral districts. The second despatch dealt with the question of supplies required for the administration between the last meeting of the legislative council and the final grant of the new constitution, and suggested that the existing council should meet and legalise the expenditure incurred, giving a vote of credit. The community received the despatches with profound disappointment, a public meeting was called, and nine citizens were deputed to wait upon the Governor to obtain further explanations and submit a remonstrance. The statement which they had to make was put into writing, and Sir Henry replied to it in detail in a full minute dated January 5, 1884. But this did not satisfy the people. Assembled in the town hall at Kingston they denounced the whole scheme, recording their 'emphatic protest against the Crown possessing power to usurp at pleasure that control over taxation and expenditure which ought only to be exercised by representatives of the people.' A standing committee was also formed to raise funds and organise opposition in the fourteen parishes of the island. Enough has been said to show the atmosphere of mistrust and discontent which it was hoped that the new Governor would dispel.

1884.—By the month of May 1884 uncertainty was at least put an end to by the publication of the Queen's Order in Council, dated May 19, 1884, at which Mr. Gladstone, with the Lord President, the Lord Steward, and the Speaker of the House of Commons attended. A legislative council was created consisting of the Governor and four high officials to whose number the Crown, or the Governor provisionally, might add not more than five other

members by nomination. Nine electoral districts were to be formed to return nine representative members of the council. The Governor's assent, or that of the Crown, was required to every law passed by it ; the initiation of money votes was reserved to the Governor, but financial votes, with certain exceptions, were not to pass if opposed by six elected members unless the Governor should declare them to be of paramount importance. Again, the unanimous vote of the elected members on any question was to prevail, unless the contrary decision was declared by the Governor to be of similar importance. To relieve the officials from being the butt of discussion and to enhance the authority of their position, the salaries of the most important of them were to be charged upon the revenues of the island.

The settlement naturally fell short of public expectation, but Norman lost no time in getting the machinery for elections into order, meanwhile taking a vote of credit for the most essential needs of the administration. He visited all parts of the island, and by his tact and conciliatory attitude won over the leaders of public opinion to his side. When, in March 1886, he returned to the colony after a short leave of absence, Mr. Stiebel, the chairman of the standing committee which had been appointed to denounce the scheme of constitution, gave voice to the friendly feelings which their Governor had enlisted.

> The task which your Excellency had to perform was, no doubt, a difficult and delicate one. . . . Your Excellency had not been long in the island, however, before by your public enunciations and acts you commanded our respect, sympathy, and esteem. At the outset you agreeably dis-

appointed our anticipations by the wisdom and sound judgment which you exercised in introducing the moderate form of representative government sanctioned by the Imperial Government, thus causing the people to be then satisfied with even the little they had received, when expecting a great deal more.

He further referred to Sir Henry's simplicity of manners and the amiability of Lady Norman. The note of personal affection and sincere friendship struck in 1886 only increased as time went on, and when in December 1888 the elected members of the legislative council assembled to bid him farewell, they expressed their 'recognition of the valuable services rendered by your Excellency in the inauguration of the constitution, and the tact and wisdom evinced in its conduct and management,' thanking him 'for uniform courtesy and constant sympathy with representative institutions.' Lord Salisbury's ministry was then in power and Lord Derby was out of office, but the latter added his testimony to that of his successor in the Colonial Office.

I have always reckoned [he wrote on February 13, 1889] it as one of the chief successes of my Colonial work that I was able to induce you to accept the Governorship of Jamaica; and I admit that it was with some feeling of regret that I heard that you had been called upon to leave it for another, though possibly one of greater imperial importance.

It must not be supposed that matters ran smoothly in every department, but even the most unpleasant incident in his term of office served to quicken the public sympathy and confidence in Norman. His controversy with Gibbons led to legal proceedings in the Queen's Bench Division,

entailing considerable trouble and expense, and interruption to his official work, for which there was no reasonable justification. The British Treasury would not undertake the defence of a Colonial Governor, and he had therefore to instruct his own legal advisers and pay the cost of legislation until they were afterwards recouped to a certain extent by Jamaica.

The facts of this famous case were these. Mr. H. F. Gibbons, a barrister-at-law, had been appointed by Lord Kimberley to be judge of a district court in the north of the island. He seems to have worked with energy, if not with complete tact, in clearing off arrears, and was in due course transferred to another district. Called upon to report on the judicial administration, he exposed in no measured terms the inefficiency and corruption which, in his opinion, prevailed. The report was transmitted home without being edited, and in its naked truth was published, bringing down upon Gibbons the heated indignation of those whose methods had been attacked. A solicitor named Daley Lewis got into an altercation with Gibbons one day in 1884 as he was leaving his court, and blows with whips were given and exchanged. Gibbons, summoned before the magistrates whose conduct he had impugned in his report, applied for leave of absence, which the Governor felt bound to refuse ; while on a review of the whole circumstances his Excellency deemed it his duty to suspend for the time being the judge from the exercise of his functions. Thereon Gibbons resigned his appointment and instituted proceedings against the Governor for wrongfully suspending him and depriving him of the emoluments of his office, and also for wrongfully publishing his

official report, knowing that the publication would excite feelings of hatred against him. Norman rejoined that Gibbons was liable to be suspended by the Governor at his discretion, and that in November 1884 he had suspended the plaintiff in the exercise of his duty. He claimed the right to use the official report sent to him as he might think fit in the public interest, and denied all intention of injuring Gibbons or prejudicing him in the public estimation. Therefore, as he pleaded, no cause of action against him had been disclosed.

The ingenuity of Mr. Gibbons and the intricacies and delays of justice protracted the proceedings. For instance, a learned judge had refused to order the delivery of particulars in regard to certain matters alleged in the defence. Against that order an appeal was preferred, and dismissed in 1886. At last, however, an order of reference was made by a Master of the Supreme Court, Mr. Joseph Kaye, referring the action to Lord Herschell to award and certify; and on March 24, 1887, that eminent authority decided that the plaintiff had no cause of action against the defendant and must pay all costs. But the plaintiff had no means of paying, and therefore the legislative council, at the instance of the non-official members, voted to the Governor a sum equal to the salary which his *locum tenens* had drawn during Norman's absence, in addition to the expenses incurred in defending his public action. Lord Knutsford considered that this vote was 'right and reasonable,' and would still leave the colony indebted to Sir Henry 'for the labour and inconvenience which the discharge of his duty had unfortunately caused him.' But Norman, in a message dated September 1888, declined to accept reim-

bursement of that portion of his salary which the officer acting for him had received in his absence. Thus this unfortunate dispute ended in a generous offer from the council and an act of disinterested self-denial on the part of the Governor, which only increased their mutual respect and goodwill.

Full advantage was taken by Norman of his insular charge with its outlying dependencies, the Caymans Islands, the guano islands of Pedro and Morant Bays, and the Turks and Caicos Islands, to gratify his love of the sea. The admiral placed the *Griffon*, a screw gun vessel, at his disposal, and his visits to the islanders were the more valued because they brought the services of the ship's surgeon within reach of the Boddens and the Scotts and the other simple folk who inhabited those neglected spots. But the most important of his cruises was undertaken in 1885 under orders from home, in connection with the coolie disturbances in Trinidad. There, at least, he arrived as an unwelcome visitor, and he remarks in his diary that he at once felt as if he had been sent to Coventry. When, however, he finally reported on the collision between the police and the Indian immigrants, which had occurred on October 30, 1884, resulting in the death of twelve persons and the wounding of more than a hundred by buckshot, he was able to assure Lord Derby that the independent inquiry ordered had been 'appreciated by the colony, not only by the coolies, but by the authorities, and I believe by the planters.' The coolies were certainly gratified in being able to state their case fully in Hindustani to one who could understand their religious practices and speak to them in their own tongue; the soldiers who were passive spectators, although moral

supporters, of the action taken by the police, felt confident in the judgment of so distinguished a member of their service; and the civil authorities, whose action was vindicated in firing upon the rioters, were not slow in recognising the value of the criticisms and suggestions made by an officer of such large experience in civil administration. The result was a public exoneration of the local authorities from blame in connection with the disturbances, and the much criticised regulations for the conduct of the Hosea festival, the enforcement of which had led to the riot and its disastrous consequences, were formally approved and continued in force by the Colonial Office.

A pleasant duty which devolved upon Norman during his term of office was the reception and entertainment of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, then a midshipman serving with the squadron under the command of the late Sir J. E. Commerell, V.C., who stayed for three days at King's House, and visited all that was worth seeing in the island. It also fell to his lot to celebrate her Majesty's jubilee and to open the Victoria Lying-in Hospital as a permanent memorial of that occasion. He took advantage of the prospect of the withdrawal of regular troops from the island in 1885 to form the nucleus of a local militia, and before he left a force of 600 volunteer militiamen had been enrolled. During a severe visitation of smallpox, Lady Norman and her husband devoted themselves to the relief of the sufferers; and when the parochial board of St. Andrew's bade good-bye to their Governor, they said, 'You have been most liberal in your hospitalities, and benevolent and judicious in your charities—helping largely from your private means

so many cases and causes which came or were brought before you for assistance.' The mayor and council of Kingston, after reviewing his 'efficient and economical administration,' reverted to the same subject. They referred to the services rendered in so many ways by Lady Norman, and assured his Excellency that he had 'won the hearts of the people of this island.'

Thus in the short space of five years Norman altered the whole tone of Colonial sentiment. He had conciliated all classes of the community, public and private; the new constitution was working smoothly; despite of some loss on the railway transactions, he was able to pay off the deficit of the previous year and bequeath to his successor a clear surplus of 29,600*l.*; and he introduced valuable reforms into the judicial department as well as into the system of public instruction. He had also prepared the way for the sale of the Jamaica railway with a view to securing an extension of it, and for the promotion of trade with the United States. It was not surprising, therefore, that the Secretary of State for the Colonies recorded in strong terms his appreciation of the great services rendered by Norman in Jamaica; while her Majesty gave public proof of her confidence by conferring on him in May 1888 the striped ribbon of the Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, raising him to the first class of military knights of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath in the following month.

During four of the five years of his time in Jamaica the Governor was ably assisted by his Colonial Secretary, Sir Edward Noel-Walker, who has permitted me to quote the following extract

from a letter which he was good enough to write me recording his impressions and recollections of his chief.

In Sir Henry Norman I was impressed by his wide practical knowledge, his great memory for details, his modesty, and his never-failing good temper, his simple, straight, unaffected manner of doing and saying everything with a tact which came from all these, and had no savour of diplomacy. In a community where personal controversy had been long and frequently prevalent, I can remember no instance in which he was in personal conflict or contention with any individual or any section. An instance of the quiet confidence in himself, and in the merits of any cause he advocated, was shown in his inaugurating and successfully conducting the administration under the new constitution of May 1884 without filling up two of the official seats, and therefore without an actual official majority of votes. Officials, always confident of his generous and friendly consideration, would freely state their own views or their own case, and would fully and cheerfully accept this Governor's decision, totally adverse though it might be. All classes—unofficial and official, the leading proprietors, the rising middle section, and the menial working man—have held and will continue to hold him in respectful and affectionate remembrance, even above and longer than others in his exalted position ; and I can say of him to a degree which I could hardly use in respect of any other Colonial Governor, that I never heard a word of complaint of, or dissatisfaction with, any acts towards them individually. In our personal official intercourse he treated me more as a friend and companion than as a chief of such difference of age, experience and capacity. Twenty years have passed since my official connection with Jamaica and with Sir Henry ceased, but I have kept touch with the island, and have had opportunities of knowing what is being done and said there, and it was my privilege to continue to enjoy friendly acquaintance with Sir Henry until his death, which I always thought was hastened by his characteristically chivalrous acceptance of duties and

responsibilities from which he might well have been excused after such a long, strenuous, and trying life.

1888.—The circumstances in which Norman left Jamaica for Queensland illustrated his regard for public interests, and placed the Government of Lord Salisbury under strong obligation to him. He was looking forward to the meeting of the second legislative assembly at Kingston, and to carrying through his ideas about the sale of the Jamaica railway, when he received a telegram, dated October 20, 1888, offering him the Governorship of Queensland with the hope that he would lose no time in proceeding to Brisbane. He felt that at the time Jamaica had the strongest claim upon him, and declined the offer. Later on he was made aware of the difficult position in which the Ministry were placed by the storm of indignation raised by the Irish Nationalists in Queensland at the nomination of Sir Henry Blake to be its Governor. One trouble had just been composed by the death of Sir Anthony Musgrave, who had exercised his powers so as to offend his Ministers and cause them to resign. And now when peace was restored, the 'green flag' was violently waved by the Irish party, who could never forgive Blake, notwithstanding his ability, for having, as resident magistrate in Ireland, taken part with four others in carrying out measures of pacification. The authorities in London were not prepared to be dictated to, while the opposition in Queensland would not be appeased. A deadlock seemed inevitable, when Norman telegraphed on November 12 placing himself 'at the entire disposal of her Majesty's Government for any place at any time.' Before

the month closed, he received intimation of his appointment with an expression of the thanks of Government at his readiness to meet their wishes.

1889.—He arrived in Queensland in May 1889, and retained the office of Governor until the beginning of 1896. It did not take him many hours to realise the profound change in circumstances and official duties which his journey from West to East had brought about. In physical features, in their populations, their constitutions and their public questions, Jamaica and Queensland stood far apart from each other. Norman had left a small, well-watered island of 4,207 square miles for a noble territory of 668,200 square miles (many parts of which suffered from drought), whose four principal rivers were practically unnavigable, while the railways, less than 2,400 miles in length, all inadequately made up for this deficiency in its communications. Jamaica was thickly inhabited by 580,000 coloured people, with 14,500 white residents, while Queensland counted only 390,000 inhabitants, and yet resolutely set its face against the immigration of negroes, Chinese and Japanese. Above all, his new home was a self-governing colony in which the leading part he had played in Jamaica was closed to him. He was not called upon to create a constitution and govern with an official majority secured to him in his legislative assembly, but 'to act,' if that phrase does not sound too energetic, on the advice of his Ministers, whose own tenure of office depended upon the support of a majority of the seventy-two elected members of the Lower House. But his personal qualities, his unique force of character, his rare modesty and simplicity remained unaffected by degrees of longitude and

change of atmosphere; and this combination of power and gentleness assured to him as great success in Australia as in the West Indies. On the morning after his arrival and public reception in Brisbane he was taking a quiet walk before breakfast when a stranger laid a friendly, but rather heavy, hand on his shoulder, exclaiming, 'Well, old Governor, how are you? None the worse, I hope, for yesterday's show?' His interrogator recognised from the genial smile and ready retort of his new Governor that he was dealing with a brother man 'with no Imperial nonsense about him'; and the Adjutant-General of the Delhi field force and Captain-General of Jamaica at once took his proper place as the first citizen of Queensland.

In many respects his term of office in Queensland, if not of such far-reaching consequences as in Jamaica, was a difficult and trying one. Mr. Morehead was Premier, but Sir Thomas McIlwraith, on whose support he depended, left for New Zealand owing to ill health early in November 1889, and on his return ceased to range himself on the side of the Premier. The financial condition of the colony was serious, and Morehead proposed to cover the deficit by imposing a tax of a penny in the pound on all incomes exceeding 500*l.* a year. Sir Samuel Griffith met the proposal of the Ministry by a motion which McIlwraith supported, condemning the financial scheme of the Government; and this was defeated by a majority of two votes only. Morehead, who was not prepared to withdraw his measure, rather than accept defeat, resigned, and Norman asked Sir S. Griffith to form a new Ministry.

1893.—A coalition was then formed, and Griffith held office as Premier until in March 1893 he was

appointed Chief Justice, when McIlwraith took his place for a few months. The chief liberal members of the new Ministry were Byrnes, Tozer, Wilson and Hodgkinson, while Nelson also supported the Premier. The elections resulted in the return of forty ministerialists, sixteen representatives of the labour party, eight liberals, and the same number of independent members. In the following October, by a brilliant stroke of diplomacy, Sir H. Nelson was induced to accept the premiership, a post which he retained during the rest of Norman's term of office.

The troubles and anxieties which oppressed the colony during these administrations were mainly financial. Public credit sank to a low ebb, the Queensland National Bank and the Bank of North Queensland fell into serious difficulties, and the colony's finances were so disorganised that the salaries of members of the legislative assembly had to be reduced in 1892 from 300*l.* to 150*l.*, many measures of importance being shelved. Norman had already been obliged to report to the Secretary of State that his own official salary was inadequate to the discharge of his duties. Lord Knutsford had replied by begging him in the public interest not to think of retirement, and suggesting that he should explain to his Ministers that while he was prepared to spend the whole of his salary in the colony he could not, in duty to his family, exhaust his own private means or run into debt. This Norman had done, and his Ministers had frankly accepted the position, adding their entreaties to those of the Secretary of State. But in this crisis the Governor wrote to the Premier expressing his wish to share with the permanent officials the general reduction of salaries. This self-sacrifice the Ministry would not

accept, but Norman's proposal was fully appreciated. Another incident shows the character of the man. One Saturday he was informed that a bank with which he kept an account was intending to close its doors on the following Monday. He resolutely refused to withdraw any part of his balance for fear that his action might precipitate a crisis, feeling that an official ought not to take any personal advantage of information derived from official sources. As time went on, the pressure on his modest income increased. His charitable disposition would not allow him to turn a deaf ear to appeals when the shearers' strike and the floods at Brisbane and Ipswich in 1893 spread misery on all sides. But these calls on his purse, if cheerfully borne, were none the less felt, and they deserve to be taken into account in this biography as a part of the difficulties with which he had to contend.

He did not, however, allow these difficulties to abate by one jot the energy with which he threw himself into his work. He was persuaded that rough places might be made smooth by personal intercourse. His doors were open not only to his Ministers, who soon learnt the value of his experience in military and civil affairs, consulting him on matters of colonial, as well as those of merely departmental, interest ; he also went in search of information at first hand, visiting persons who could not come to him and parts of the colony far from its capital, thus in a single year travelling by road not less than 5,265 miles.

There were three questions of high political importance which agitated public opinion and required a thorough knowledge of the feelings of the people. These were the partition of Queensland,

national defence, and the federation of the Australian colonies. Norman was determined to see for himself how the land lay in regard to the first of these, his Indian experiences making him doubtful as to the advantages of partitions. A visit to the north of Queensland soon satisfied him that there, at all events, was a demand for separation. On all sides he heard complaints of neglect in the apportionment of public funds, and observed the pressing need of railway extension. But when it came to details of separation and the choice of capital, he found no general agreement. At Thursday Island the people were wholly indifferent; at Cairns there was some desire for change, but no wish to see the neighbouring Townsville promoted to the dignity of a capital and lordship over its neighbour. At Rockhampton and Townsville some of the chief agitators for a change had their own axes to grind, and were working even in England for a separation which might improve their estates. The views of the labour party were doubtful, but when, at a by-election for Townsville, in 1894, Mr. Ogden, a labour candidate and separatist, defeated Mr. Willmott, also a separatist but a supporter of the Government, Norman at once foresaw that the movement in favour of separation had received a check; for, while a few years back not a single labour member had been elected in Northern Queensland, there were now eight, and it had dawned upon the upper classes, who had originally advocated separation, that their portion of the colony would be governed by the labouring classes, a result of partition which they had never contemplated. All these cross currents of opinion were made intelligible to him in the course of his

tours, and he formed the conclusion that the desire for partition was on the wane. In the first place, the demand for the formation of a Central Queensland weakened the force of the agitation for a Northern Queensland, since, in his opinion, the separation of the former without that of the latter would be impossible. On the other hand, such large partitions would seriously weaken the influence and prestige of the colony throughout Australia. Then the financial and labour troubles came in to weigh down the balance.

> I consider [he wrote] that separation at present would most injuriously affect the banking and financial institutions, which can only recover their former position by the exercise of great care, and by a freedom from such disturbing influence as would arise from breaking up Queensland into two or three separate Governments.

Finally he laid stress upon the position of the British Parliament, which would hesitate to move without a clear expression of colonial opinion and a thorough scheme of separation, which it was not easy to draw out to the satisfaction of all. He took the case of British New Guinea. In the event of separation, divided control of that dependency could not be permitted, and yet a Northern Queensland could not be expected to bear the whole weight of the contribution paid by the colony. From all these reflections he was impressed with the conviction that the time had not yet arrived for seriously considering the question of partition, and that in the present state of things it would be wise to discourage agitation on the subject.

The next large question, that of colonial defence, including the marine defences of the three ports of Brisbane, Townsville and Thursday Island, and the

increase of the 'Land Defence Force' and 'the Volunteers,' interested him greatly. Unfortunately lean years of finance were unfavourable to progress, and in 1894 these slender forces were actually reduced. But the discussions on this question led him a stage forward in arriving at a decision as to the greater problem of federation. The Federal Council of Australasia, to whose sessions at Hobart Queensland sent representatives on three occasions during his term of office, did not seem to him a body which could be wisely vested with a central control for military defence. The troops of Queensland were civilians who could not be moved from their occupations for more than a few days, save on the gravest emergency. Then, again, the use to which the troops in each colony might be put in the event of local disturbances must rest with the colonial authorities ; and his own experience of the shearers' strike made him apprehensive that the control of the Federal Council might unduly restrict the responsible Governments on the spot. How, then, could the obvious needs of colonial defence be met ? Only by a federal executive, he replied, and this led him on the road towards the establishment of a Commonwealth. But when he had got so far, his cautious temperament made him pause.

The immensity of the question of federation impressed him as one which required to be looked at all round and not merely from the side of colonial defence. In 1889 he wrote :

> I am favourable in a general sense to federation, on the understanding that the measure is desired by the colonies, and that the several colonies are prepared to make the concessions necessary to enable a Central Australian Government to be of real use.

He utterly discredited the argument that federation would be a step towards separation from the British Crown, but as time went on he saw more clearly the need for deliberation. When, therefore, Mr. Reid, the Premier of New South Wales, suggested in November 1894 a meeting of premiers at Hobart to discuss federal union, and Norman learnt that New South Wales would not participate, he agreed with his Ministers in looking coldly on the proposal. How Queensland in September 1899, by a majority of some 7,500, accepted the Commonwealth Bill as amended in that year, belongs to later history; but it may be mentioned here that Norman persisted to the end of his life in viewing the establishment of federation as adopted with too much haste. The caution which he felt to be necessary in approaching so great an end led him to look with some misgiving on a skeleton scheme of which the details would have to be filled in hereafter. In dealing with the public debts of the several colonies, as well as their finances and other matters of common interest, he saw great difficulties ahead, and he thought that many of these inevitable problems demanded fuller discussion before the several colonies were committed to an executive union.

Passing from these burning questions to the ordinary duties of his office, one is disposed to find the secret of his popularity in the entire absence of self-assertion. It was this quality which most struck Sir William Mansfield, who introduced him in 1859 to Lord Ripon in these terms: 'He is as unassuming and agreeable as he is intelligent and distinguished.' But of all these possessions modesty was that which served him best in Queensland. The

range of his authority was limited, permitting him only to exercise the prerogative of mercy, to sanction laws, or, if that course was necessary, to reserve them for the sanction of her Majesty, to prorogue the assembly or send for a new premier, to nominate members for the legislative council, and generally to play the part of a constitutional Governor. These limits Norman never exceeded. 'We have no power, only influence,' he used to say, and what that influence grew to be was admitted by Sir T. McIlwraith at a picnic given on board the Government S.Y. *Lucinda* by Mr. Fleming and Mr. Bowell: 'I am supposed to give his Excellency advice, but often the tables are turned, and he advises me.' Such advice was given only when sought, but his Ministers soon learnt to value it, and were not slow to seek it. Further, while Norman recognised the narrow bounds by which his position was circumscribed, he was not extreme to mark unintentional encroachment upon it. Twice he forgave mistakes which a more self-assertive Governor would have exaggerated. Thus on one occasion by an inadvertence he learnt for the first time of a prorogation from the pages of the *Gazette*, and on another the opinion of his Ministers on an appeal to the clemency of the Crown became public before he had passed his own order on the petition. Such a character as his provoked no liberties, and the mistakes were deeply regretted. The authorities at home were equally aware of his services to the Imperial Government. Lord Knutsford, on his own retirement from the Colonial Office in 1892, wrote to express his sense 'of your most excellent work, most loyally and zealously done. It is pleasant to look back on the very friendly relations which

we have had during the past five and a half years, relations which I trust may be kept up between us though I am out of office.' Three years later Mr. Chamberlain placed on official record

the high appreciation of your long and valuable services entertained by successive Secretaries of State, in which I entirely concur ; and I take this opportunity of expressing my regret, which I feel sure will be equally felt in the colony under your Government, that the time has arrived for your retirement from the public service of which you have long been a distinguished ornament.

What the Government of Queensland and its citizens felt upon his retirement may be seen from a letter written to me by Sir Horace Tozer, from the official correspondence of the Government of that Dominion, and from the action taken by public bodies. Sir Horace Tozer writes simply, ' I had the very highest admiration and respect for Sir Henry Norman, with whom I was in close official relations for almost the whole of his term of office in Queensland.' The Colonial Government did not sit silent and allow the popular feeling to be expressed for it by societies, or the newspapers only. It may be questioned whether any other Colonial Governor ever received a greater compliment than that which was paid to Norman in the following letter, dated August 10, 1894, which here is reproduced.

Sir,—In view of the approaching expiry of your Excellency's term of office as Governor of Queensland, I venture to lay before your Excellency certain considerations in connection with the subject, which it is hoped your Excellency may be favourably inclined to communicate to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

As your Excellency is aware, your Ministers have employed a large part of their time during the last half year in visiting the different districts of the colony, for

the purpose of making themselves acquainted with the wishes and requirements of the various portions of the community, and during the course of these visits they have been greatly impressed with the widespread desire of the people of Queensland that your Excellency's stay among them as the representative of her Majesty should be extended to another term. Your Ministers, both during their sojourn at the different centres of population and in their visits to less closely settled districts, have had the opportunity of meeting with colonists of all classes and of all shades of opinion, and they are able to state that the expression of this desire has been as unanimous as it has been spontaneous. As regards the citizens of the metropolis, the feeling is universal, apart from the affectionate esteem and respect with which your Excellency is personally regarded, that your departure from the colony, at whatever period it may take place, will be a great public loss ; and I need not say that your Ministers, with the intimate knowledge of the value of your counsel and guidance, are in full sympathy with all sections of the community in desiring that the country should continue as long as possible to enjoy the benefit and the distinction of your Excellency's administration.

I feel accordingly that I am but acting as the mouthpiece of the whole of the colony in asking your Excellency—should your own wishes be in consonance with the object of this request—to make known to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State the earnest desire of the people of Queensland that her Majesty may be pleased to renew your Excellency's term of office as Governor of this portion of her dominions, both as a measure of public benefit to the colony, and as a gracious recognition of the sentiments of respect and loyal affection entertained by her Majesty's Queensland subjects toward the present representative among them, and of their grateful appreciation of the honour conferred upon the colony in the selection, to administer its government, of so distinguished a subject of the Empire.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) HUGH M. NELSON.

To this Norman replied on August 14, 1894 :

Sir,—I need hardly say that your letter of the 10th instant has been received by me with feelings of gratification and of pride.

It is a high honour to be told by the Premier of this colony that the Ministers in their various tours throughout Queensland have been greatly impressed by the widespread desire of the people of all classes and shades of opinion that my stay here might be extended for another term, and also to be informed that the Ministers themselves are in full sympathy with all sections of the community in desiring that the country should retain my services. It is also most gratifying to receive a letter couched in such complimentary and cordial terms as that which I now acknowledge.

While I appreciate most highly the compliment paid to me, and while I fully admit that Queensland, where I have received so much kindness, has a lasting claim on my gratitude and best services, I feel precluded by urgent family reasons and by advancing years from undertaking an additional term of office even if her Majesty's Government was willing to allow me to remain, and I have strong reasons for desiring to return to England not later than the end of the year 1895.

My six years' term of office expires on May 1, 1895, and it may possibly be convenient to her Majesty's Government to relieve me about that date, but if it is their pleasure that I should remain here until December 1895, I would willingly do so. After that period I should wish to be relieved from office and to return to England, taking with me, as I should, a most grateful recollection of the kindness I have experienced from the people of Queensland from the day of my landing, and thankful if, owing to my exertions, any help has been given towards the happiness or prosperity of the country or of individuals or institutions belonging to it.

I propose, therefore, to send a copy of your letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and to say if her Majesty's Government desire it, I would be willing to stay here until the end of December 1895, but that I quite recognise that there may be excellent reasons for replacing

me at the expiration of the ordinary term of office, that is, on May 1 next.

With cordial thanks to yourself and your colleagues generally, and with a deep sense of the kindness I have always experienced at the hands of the Ministers of the Crown and from the community generally during the last five and a half years, a kindness which has been freely extended to Lady Norman and my daughters,

I have, Sir, etc.,

(Signed) H. W. NORMAN.

The reference to the Home Government elicited a letter from the Secretary of State expressing the hope that Sir Henry would retain office so long as he felt able to do so. But he was unable to remain in Queensland beyond the early part of 1896, when he was succeeded by Lord Lamington.

The extension of his term of office did not diminish the warmth of affection felt for their Governor, and a committee formed in Brisbane tendered to him the thanks of the colony 'for his sympathetic and successful administration of the Government during a period marked by unprecedented difficulty and distress.' From all parts, Townsville, Charters Towers, Rockhampton, Mackay, Windsor and other places, addresses to him poured in, and in all of them mention was made of Lady Norman's interest and influence. These were no mere formal expressions of farewell; they went beyond official esteem, and touched a personal note when they assured him that

by the attractiveness of a singular simplicity and grace of character you have won our hearts. You have not only represented the sceptred sway of a Sovereign whose rule extends over a wide Empire, but have also happily reflected those homely virtues which have compelled the universal affection of her subjects.

The fervour of these farewell addresses outlived his departure to England, for their sincerity was proved when Sir H. Chermside was entertained on April 28, 1903, by the Chamber of Commerce at Brisbane. Mr. Carter, the president, referred to the former Governor of the colony, observing that 'possibly the affections of the people of the state still remained with their old Governor, Sir Henry Norman. Probably Queensland reached high-water mark in its affections when Sir Henry was its Governor.'

1893.—Before the chapter of Norman's life in Queensland is closed, mention must be made of the signal honour bestowed upon him by his Sovereign and her Ministers in the offer of the splendid post of Governor-General of India in succession to the Marquess of Lansdowne. In some places it has been represented that Norman withdrew from his acceptance of that high office because his appointment was accompanied by conditions which he could not accept. Elsewhere it has been stated that he changed his mind when he learnt the tenour of public criticism in India, and received a warning note from friends whom he respected. A little reflection would have suggested the impossibility of these theories. The brief telegrams which passed between him and Lord Kimberley lie before me, and in addition to these the pages of Norman's diary. They dispel all these rumours and tell a very simple tale which can be exposed to public view without lifting any veil, whether of privacy or official secrecy, that should be drawn. He had been busy preparing a lecture to be delivered that night in the opera house, when he received a telegram from Lord Kimberley offering him the post, with

the sole condition that he should relieve Lord Lansdowne before the close of the year. His comment was, 'A most extraordinary offer!' The following extracts from his diary tell their own tale:

September 2, 1893.—I telegraphed to be allowed to defer my answer to Lord Kimberley till Monday. We went to lunch with the Thompsons, and to see the football match of New South Wales *v.* Queensland, when Queensland won. *September* 3.—Wrote a telegram accepting the Viceroyalty on condition that I may go home and receive outfit and passage allowance. *September* 4.—A little before 11 delivered my telegram to Reuters' accepting the Viceroyalty. God grant that it may be blessed. I have never asked for it. *September* 5.—At 1 P.M. a message came announcing my appointment as Viceroy of India, and simultaneously a telephone from the *Courier* inquiring from Wallop whether it was true. I did not then reply, but sent for Sir Thomas McIlwraith to tell him. He expressed great pleasure, and I had a talk with him.

The diary then deals with his preparations, and mentions on September 17 that he was depressed about going to India, and again on the 18th he was 'very much depressed.'

Then on September 19 the die is cast. 'I cannot face the Viceroyship, and after much anxiety and doubt have telegraphed to Lord Kimberley. I feel I am not really equal to five years of arduous work, and I should probably break down.' On September 21 he writes:

Thursday, 7.10 A.M.—A telegram from Lord Kimberley came accepting my withdrawal with very great regret; so that is settled, and no doubt I shall be abused for vacillation. But I know perfectly well that I should have been over-anxious, and probably soon have broken down.

Norman was then nearly sixty-seven years of age, and those who know the wear and strain of

Viceregal office in India, with all that he had gone through in that country, will not wonder that he gave to his previous decision a second thought. No consideration of anything but the public good entered into his mind, but when he felt the flutter and anxiety which the bare acceptance of the offer produced he realised the risk of a breakdown, and had the courage to withdraw without compromising public interests by a possible failure of his health. He wrote at once to Lord Lansdowne expressing the hope that his change of purpose had caused him no inconvenience, and to his intimate friends he explained that reflection had brought to him the conviction that his health and strength would not enable him to face five years of arduous service in the Government of India.

CHAPTER XI

THE CLOSE, 1896-1904

The family circle—Sugar Commission—West Indian colonies—Governor of Chelsea, 1897—Promotion to the rank of Field-Marshal, 1902—South African War Commission—His peaceful death—Memorials—Estimate of his character by Earl Roberts.

To all men retirement from the restraint and the crowded interests of active business in the public services becomes a new stage of existence, and to some it is a severe trial. Many solve the problem of leisure by occupying themselves in domestic or local affairs, by study or authorship ; others resign themselves to vain regrets and murmurs, and a few enter into a haven of rest, conscious of their diminished powers and content to shift their burdens on to other shoulders. Norman was spared all dilemmas of such nature, for in the sunset of his days he gathered in the rich harvest which he had sown in so many fields of labour. His garners were full of home affections, friendships, benevolent pursuits, and public interests. To the very end he 'warmed both hands before the fire of life,' and even his sorrows had been lightened by consolations.

1896.—It may be convenient here to give a short account of his family circle. His eldest daughter, Mary, who had been with her father in India, Jamaica and Queensland, remained at home till his death. His second daughter, Helen Campbell,

born at Peshawar on January 27, 1856, had given herself with all the enthusiasm of a soldier's daughter to the profession of nursing. Trained at St. Mary's, Paddington, she went to Egypt during the war, and then entered the service as an Army nurse. At Devonport, at Gibraltar, and finally at Netley Hospital she devoted herself so whole-heartedly to her duties that the strain of the South African war broke her down, and she was obliged to resign the post of lady superintendent. But it was a cause of much gratification to Sir Henry to find how highly her services were valued by her colleagues, and to see them recognised by her Majesty Queen Victoria, who conferred upon her the Royal Red Cross decoration. Her younger sister, Jessie, born in 1860, married Captain (now Colonel) Bor, of the West India Regiment.

There was one gap in the family which on his retirement Norman often thought of, but still with pride as well as sorrow. While yet a subaltern he had shown much interest in the Church Missionary Society's work at Peshawar, and his third daughter, Annie, born in the fateful year of the mutiny, determined, as she grew up, to give her life work to the cause, entering the Mission at that frontier station. She died at the age of twenty-six greatly mourned, and leaving a memory of noble self-sacrifice which robbed her loss of much of its sting.

Lady Norman and her husband had two sons, Walter and Claude, and one daughter, Grace, who was married, soon after his retirement in December 1896, to Captain R. J. Strachey of the Rifle Brigade. Walter originally entered the Royal Navy, but after three years preferred to follow more closely the footsteps of his father, and passing into Sandhurst

as easily as he had into the *Britannia*, he joined the 11th Bengal Lancers. Claude was only twenty years of age when his father came home, and he, too, elected for the Army, and is now serving in the Guides Cavalry.

The careers of his children were therefore well advanced before Norman settled down in Onslow Gardens. But he and his wife lost no time in taking a prominent part in parish affairs. Public societies, in particular the Royal Geographical, the Colonial Institute, the Society of Arts, and the missionary bodies found in him an active worker; and he naturally assisted in the arrangements for the annual meeting of the Delhi survivors and other gatherings of retired Indian officials. Many friends sought him out and resumed a close intercourse, broken by his colonial appointments. There was plenty of work to fill up his day. Before he went to Jamaica he had sat on the board of the Commercial Union Assurance Society, and on his return from Brisbane the directors welcomed him back to their counsels. The colony of Queensland had appointed him its colonial agent, but after a year he resigned this post into the capable hands of Sir Horace Tozer. A man so rich in the affections of family and friends could not fail to feel the sunshine even on the shady side of the wall that separated him from public service. But even here fortune favoured him to his latest day. He had sown his seed well in the season of labour, and before his end came the State rewarded him by appointing him chairman of the West India Royal Commission, Governor of Chelsea Hospital, Field-Marshal of the Army after an interval of more than forty years since he was last on active military

employ, and finally military member of the Commission on the conduct of the South African war. Thus he pursued to the close of his life his astonishing career of success unchecked by age, commanding preferment by force of character, and yet retaining to the last the modesty which grew with his growth and strengthened with the strength of seventy-six years.

As soon as he had settled down to life in London he was urged to write an account of the mutiny, and in particular of the siege of Delhi. He was beginning to realise the difficulties of his task when the first of a series of interruptions occurred. It was in December 1896 that he was called upon to preside over a Royal Commission, with two eminent colleagues, Sir Edward Grey and Sir David Barbour, appointed to inquire into the conditions and prospects of the sugar-growing West India colonies. It may be frankly admitted that he had not by natural taste, study, or experience, any special training in economic questions, but he was in many respects admirably fitted for the duty assigned to him. His knowledge of several of the West Indian colonies enabled him to ask pertinent questions of the witnesses, while his courtesy encouraged their confidence.

1897.—On January 13, 1897, the Commissioners left Southampton for British Guiana, and thence were borne on board H.M.'s ship *Talbot* to Trinidad, the Windward and Leeward Islands, and so to Jamaica, submitting their report in August of the same year. Their conclusions have been printed and need only be summarised here. They unanimously admitted the grave depression of the sugar industry and recommended a loan to Barbadoes, the establishment of a peasant pro-

prietary, improved communications, and minor alleviations involving certain grants of public money. But they differed as to the heroic remedy of the imposition of countervailing duties on bounty-fed sugar when imported into the United Kingdom. The chairman alone advocated their imposition to an amount equal to the bounty paid by each foreign Government, holding that no other measure could avert inevitable disaster to the sugar-growing colonies, and that at no distant time countries giving bounties would abandon their policy in face of countervailing duties. His two colleagues would not allow their sympathy with the colonies to blind them to the grave impolicy of retaliation in the form suggested. The loss that would be incurred by the British consumer in the event of a rise in the price of sugar; the inconvenience caused to the trade by countervailing duties; the grave uncertainty as to whether these sacrifices would save the sugar industry in the West Indies, threatened as it would be by the restoration of order in Cuba and the increasing production of protected sugar in the United States; the danger of introducing laxity in the interpretation of the most favoured nation clause in commercial treaties with foreign powers; and the deviation from the established principles of free trade, all weighed down the balance against countervailing duties in the minds of Grey and Barbour. But they respected the generous motives which led their chairman to another conclusion.

The depression [writes Sir David Barbour on October 14, 1907] was very great, and it was most melancholy to pass from island to island and find everywhere the same distress among the 'whites,' and also—but not to the same degree—among the 'blacks.' Norman was very kind-hearted, and

felt their position acutely. He was very popular with us all, and I personally had a great admiration for one so high-minded, unselfish, kind-hearted, liberal with his money, of sound judgment in dealing with matters of which he had experience, and so wholly devoted to the public interests.

When, after this interruption, Norman had settled down once more to his private life, he resumed the pen which he had laid aside at his country's call. But the task of arranging his voluminous records, and of mapping out the plan of what he wished to write, again proved harder than he had expected; and while he wrote and rewrote parts of sections, he was never able to complete one to his own satisfaction. Before long he faltered in the attempt and confined himself to the collection of material upon which others might build. He felt strongly that due justice had not been done to Sir Archdale Wilson, and the desire to see this injury repaired more than once induced him to return to his task. Then the illness of Sir Donald Stewart drew him away from his desk, and when he heard that his dearly loved friend lay dying in Algiers he offered his services to escort Lady Stewart to her husband's deathbed. Of what the death of his old comrade would mean to himself he little dreamt. But it practically involved a return to official life with the necessity for giving up all thought of completing his memoirs.

1901.—The letter, dated April 26, 1901, in which the Secretary of State for War intimated to Norman the King's gracious intention, added to the pleasure of succeeding Sir Donald in the appointment of Governor of Chelsea Hospital. Mr. Brodrick described the offer as 'a mark of his Majesty's sense of your distinguished services to the State,'

referred to the satisfaction which it would be to Lord Roberts, himself, and the rest of the Board of Commissioners, and ended with the remark that he felt 'sure that the Army will recognise the appointment as a peculiarly fitting one.' The Commissioners included, besides the Secretary of State for War and the Officer Commanding-in-Chief the Forces, the Paymaster-General, the Commissioner of the Treasury, the Adjutant-General, Quartermaster-General, the Governor of the Hospital and his Lieutenant-Governor; their function being to supervise the administration of the hospital and to control the distribution of army pensions. They met every week to consider the papers of soldiers entitled to pension, and they frequently sat for several hours. The hospital accommodated 581 pensioners, but besides the Governor's special responsibility, his position involved other duties congenial to one whose whole heart and life was bound up with the army. On one occasion Norman, having been for thirty years a Governor of the Corps of Commissionaires, inspected twelve hundred men of that body, under the command of Colonel McNeill Rind, in the grounds of the hospital in the presence of their founder, Sir Edward Walker. On another he unveiled a memorial to 2,625 pensioners of Chelsea buried in Brompton Cemetery between January 1855 and July 1893, when the interments were transferred to Woking. These departed veterans represented almost every battle that had been fought for their country during a period of a hundred years.

1902.—Norman's promotion on June 26, 1902, to the rank of Field-Marshal was a singular honour for a Colonial Governor, and there were some who

would have claimed the highly-prized *bâton* for one whose whole service had been passed in the Army. But it was generally recognised that no one could boast a more splendid record of service in the field, and the fact that he succeeded Sir Neville Chamberlain, whose duties he had so brilliantly discharged at the siege of Delhi, gave additional point to his selection. His Majesty the King performed the ceremony a few days before his coronation, and in doing so observed that this was the first *bâton* he had presented as King, and that it gave him much pleasure to hand it to Sir Henry Norman. Immediately afterwards his Majesty conferred the same distinction upon H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught.

At the time when Norman obtained this crowning honour he had already begun to feel the wear of his busy life, and the infirmities of age. Nevertheless, and in spite of his own hesitation, he was appointed in the autumn of 1902 a member of the commission over which Lord Elgin presided.

1903.—In February 1903 he had a slight stroke of paralysis which affected his arm and leg, but after a few hours he regained their use. The King promptly caused inquiries to be made as to the condition of the sufferer, while the news called forth sympathy from the public at home and in the colonies. Though the South African War Commission was then sitting, Lord Elgin wrote to say that it would adjourn until March 11, but 'in any case it would be the wish of every one that Sir Henry should allow full time for the re-establishment of his health before he thinks it necessary to take up the work here.' Norman, however, persisted in resuming his duties, which involved long sittings every week for the whole of Thursday and up to one o'clock on Friday, and went through them to the satisfac-

tion of all. But those about him felt that the long hours spent in the taking of evidence, added to his attendances upon the Chelsea Hospital board, were too much for his strength.

1904.—On March 22, 1904, he, with his old friend, Earl Roberts, was one of the pall-bearers in the ceremony at the funeral of Field-Marshal his late Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, K.G., and accompanied the mortal remains of his former chief from Westminster Abbey to the mausoleum at Kensal Green. Before his own end came he went to the Mediterranean to escape the rigours of the autumn, but on October 26, 1904, his heart failed, and he who had braved a thousand dangers and seen so many of his comrades struck down on the field of battle, died peacefully, tended by the loving care of his wife, and with all the comforts that medical care and nursing could minister to him. He was buried with full military honours in Brompton Cemetery on Saturday, October 29, his companion in the siege of Delhi, Sir Dighton Probyn, representing the King, with numerous old friends grouped around the grave. The Legislative Assembly of Queensland adjourned on receipt of the news of his death, and everywhere, both at home, in India, and in the colonies where he had served, the public grief was fitly expressed.

In his memory a fund was raised in London by public subscription, the proceedings of which were partly devoted to the cost of a gold medal to be given at the end of each term to the best Indian cadet at Sandhurst, and partly to the erection of three mural tablets. One of these was, in February 1907, placed in the cloister of Chelsea Hospital, his successor, Sir George White, V.C., taking part in the

ceremony ; a second went to the cantonment church at Delhi ; while a third was unveiled on June 3 of the same year by Lord Roberts in the Nelson chamber in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral. The inscription upon it runs as follows :

In Memory of Field-Marshal
Sir Henry Wylie Norman, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., C.I.E.
1826–1904.
Soldier and Administrator in India, Governor of Jamaica and of Queensland.
Through life a loyal and devoted Servant to the State.
This Tablet is dedicated
By his friends and comrades.

I have adverted—perhaps more often than was necessary—to the qualities by virtue of which Norman bound to himself the affectionate regard of his fellow-men differing in their professions, aims, and surroundings ; distanced his rivals in the race without awakening their envy ; was at home and in touch equally with the sepoy under his command, the planter in his sugar-fields, and the sturdy, unconventional colonist of the antipodes ; won the deep respect of the highest in the land and the assured trust of the weak and the distressed. And now that the map of his life, however faintly traced, is unrolled in all its various features, my readers will need no finger-post guidance to point out how it was that a young officer of the Bengal Army, without interest or eminent intellectual gifts, rose to be offered the high position of Viceroy of India ; or how, again, it came about that a Colonial Governor, who had closed his active military career at the age of forty-two, became at the age of seventy-six a Field-Marshal in the British Army. But it is interesting to note the estimate of his character formed by men of mark with whom he was brought

into close contact at various stages in his career. Thus General Roberts, one of those under whom Norman first served, predicted that he would rise to distinction ; later on Lord Clyde remarked of him, ' His brain is like the proboscis of an elephant : it can lift great weights and hold them in its grip, and at the same time it can pick up a straw as if it were a problem to examine.' And when the labourer's work on earth was done, Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, who had spent his life in intimate relations with Norman, kindly sent me the following observations with which these memoirs may fitly be brought to a close :

Henry Norman possessed in a remarkable degree three great qualities. The first of these, which is commonly found in eminent men of all professions, was a natural liking and aptitude for work. He was always keen and industrious in whatever he undertook, and as soon as one duty was performed he set about another. In his case there was no love of sport, or temptation to go out shooting, or play games which interfered with his whole-hearted concentration upon his military duties. In them he found his work and his recreation. His next peculiar gift was an extraordinary memory. He remembered everyone's name and face, his previous career, and he seemed to know what he was doing at the time. He almost knew the Army List by heart, and was familiar with the services of the various regiments and of officers with whom he was not personally acquainted. He had a great knowledge of military history, and I remember at a lecture on the battle of Marengo he was unexpectedly asked about some phase in the battle, which the lecturer had apparently forgotten. Norman was quite ready with an answer, and showed a wonderful knowledge of the details of the battle. He was a rapid devourer of books, and mastered their contents with extraordinary rapidity. Lady Roberts tells the following story : ' Sir Henry Norman came down to Clifton from London the day the Life of Sir Henry Lawrence was published ; he brought a copy with him, and after dinner showed it to me

and said I might have it to read as he had finished with it. I asked him when he read it, and he said, " Coming down in the train." I said he could only have glanced at it in the time, but he declared he had read every word of it, and asked me to test him, which I did, and found he knew the whole book thoroughly.'

Norman possessed sound soldierly instincts. He never spared any trouble, and mastered thoroughly whatever he had to do. Whenever there was fighting or alarm he was at once on the spot. He really courted danger, and his constant escapes from casualties, when others by his side were killed or wounded, were miraculous. As soon as one service was over, he was ready and anxious for another. After the capture of Delhi he might justly have claimed a rest, and accompanied the other members of the Army Headquarters' staff back to Simla. But Norman would not think of resting while active service was open to him. He applied for leave to join the column sent from Delhi to Lucknow, and with it proceeded to report himself to Sir Colin Campbell, who had succeeded General Anson as Commander-in-Chief in India. Sir Colin appointed Norman Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, and kept him with him until the end of the mutiny operations. He was quite indifferent to food or hardship, able to work with very little sleep, and to take it whenever he got the chance. In addition to these soldierly qualities Norman was cool and brave under all circumstances. He was singularly cheerful, and always saw the bright side of things.

Norman was never tried in the responsible position of a high military command, for after the mutiny his career took him to the Military Secretariat, and the Army lost one who had given every promise of military capacity. I often regretted this, as I believe Norman had many of the qualities needed in a great soldier. If the military services lost in one way by Norman's transfer to the Secretariat and the Council, they gained in other ways. As Secretary to the Government of India he proved to be a great power, and subsequently his experiences and character enabled him to exercise a remarkable influence, not only in India, but in this country.

APPENDIX A

Names of Surviving Officers of the Delhi Field Force to whom these Memoirs are Dedicated

Name	Regiment or Corps in which he served
Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, V.C., K.G., &c. . . .	Bengal Artillery.
General the Right Hon. Sir Dighton Probyn, V.C., G.C.B., &c.	2nd Punjab Cavalry.
General Sir John Watson, V.C., G.C.B. . . .	1st Punjab Cavalry.
General Sir Charles Gough, V.C., G.C.B.. . . .	The Guides.
General Sir Hugh Gough, V.C., G.C.B. . . .	Hodson's Horse.
General Sir F. Maunsell, K.C.B.	Bengal Engineers.
General C. Thomason . .	,, ,,
,, Sir William Sterling Hamilton, Bart. .	Bengal Artillery.
Lieut.-Gen.Sir J. Hills-Johnes, V.C., G.C.B. . . .	,, ,,
Lieut.-Gen. J. P. Sherriff, C.B.	2nd Punjab Infantry.
,, Sir J. McQueen, G.C.B. . .	4th Punjab Infantry.
Lieut.-Gen.Sir Seymour Blane, Bart., C.B.	52nd Light Infantry.
Lieut.-Gen. J. F. Tennant, C.I.E.	Bengal Engineers.
Lieut.-Gen. H. A. Brownlow.	,, ,,
,, E. J. McNair .	2nd European Bengal Fusiliers.
,, Sir Alex. Taylor, G.C.B. . .	Bengal Engineers.
Major-Gen. H. P. Bishop[1] .	Bengal Artillery.
,, H. M. Wemyss, C.B. . . .	1st European Bengal Fusiliers.

[1] Recently died.

Name	Regiment or Corps in which he served
Major-Gen. W. C. Justice, C.M.G.	75th Regiment.
Major-Gen. R. C. Pemberton, C.B., C.S.I.	Bengal Engineers.
Major-Gen. C. MacLean, C.B., C.I.E.	1st Punjab Cavalry.
General Sir R. C. Low, G.C.B.	9th Bengal Cavalry.
Major-Gen. J. T. Harris	2nd European Bengal Fusiliers.
,, C. S. Lane	26th Native Infantry.
,, H. De Brett	56th Native Infantry.
,, Sir Cromer Ashburnham, K.C.B.	60th Rifles.
,, G. Manderson, C.B.	Bengal Artillery.
,, A. H. Davidson	,, ,,
,, J. H. Sibley	Commissariat.
,, John Fisher.	Sirmur Battalion.
,, D. Mocatta	26th Native Infantry.
,, A. Lyte	Bengal Artillery.
,, D. Briggs	17th Native Infantry.
,, Minto Elliot, C.B.	Bengal Artillery.
,, G. B. Traill	,, ,,
,, W. E. Warrand	Bengal Engineers.
,, G. C. Robinson	Bengal Artillery.
,, P. C. Dalmahoy	Attached to 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers.
,, Alan Murray	60th Native Infantry.
,, A. B. Beatson	11th Native Infantry.
,, R. W. Chambers.	,, ,,
Colonel E. Brown	1st European Bengal Fusiliers.
,, T. Cadell, V.C., C.B.	2nd European Bengal Fusiliers.
,, C. Cantor	,, ,, ,,
,, A. R. Chapman	1st European Bengal Fusiliers.
,, Kendal J. Coghill, C.B.	2nd European Bengal Fusiliers.
,, W. R. Craster	Bengal Artillery.
,, J. Fitzgerald	5th Native Infantry.
,, J. G. Forbes	Bengal Engineers.
,, J. Sconce	Bengal Artillery.
,, J. Hobart-Tyler	20th Native Infantry.
,, E. T. Hume	Bengal Artillery.
,, J. Goldie	9th Lancers.
,, George Harcourt	1st Madras Fusiliers.
,, C. Hunter	Bengal Artillery.
,, G. Le Pelley	75th Regiment.
,, J. Longfield	H.M.'s 8th Regiment.
,, A. R. Mackenzie	The Guides.

Name	Regiment or Corps in which he served
Colonel H. J. Nuthall	Delhi Pioneers.
,, Sir E. Thackeray, V.C., K.C.B.	Bengal Engineers.
,, E. D. H. Vibart	54th Native Infantry
,, H. C. Ward[1]	,, ,,
,, Llewellyn Wavell	45th Native Infantry.
,, E. L. Earle	Bengal Artillery.
,, D. D. Muter	60th Rifles.
,, The Hon. G. W. Clive	52nd Regiment.
,, A. M. Lang	Bengal Engineers.
,, A. S. Jones, V.C.	9th Lancers.
,, R. T. Hare	Bengal Artillery.
,, H. Murray	,, ,,
,, W. Randall	59th Native Infantry.
,, James Hare	60th Rifles.
,, E. L. Ommanney, C.S.I.	59th Native Infantry.
,, F. A. Stebbing	H.M.'s 8th Regiment.
,, Southwell Greville	1st European Bengal Fusiliers.
,, J. W. Salt (*d.* Dec. 7, 1907)	Bengal Artillery.
,, Berry	H.M.'s 61st Regiment.
,, Sylvester Davies	6th Dragoon Guards.
Lieut.-Col. W. Gully	Bengal Artillery.
,, C. I. Crosse	H.M.'s 52nd Regiment
,, Dacres Wise	Hodson's Horse.
,, Drury Lowe	A.D.C.
Major J. Daniell	1st European Bengal Fusiliers.
,, Fawcett	9th Lancers.
,, C. W. Hawes	The Guides.
,, The Hon. F. le Poer Trench	H.M.'s 52nd Regiment.
,, Bradford Macrae	H.M.'s 8th Regiment.
,, A. H. Eckford	Sirmur Battalion.
Captain Yonge	H.M.'s 61st Regiment.
,, W. Dixon	60th Rifles.
,, Penton Thompson	Bengal Artillery.
,, W. I. Stopford	H.M.'s 52nd Regiment.
,, J. A. Julian	,, ,,
,, C. J. Griffiths	H.M.'s 61st Regiment.
,, Heathcote, V.C.	60th Rifles.
Lieut. R. G. Wilberforce	H.M.'s 52nd Regiment
,, McNeill	Bengal Engineers.
,, H. Lindsay Carnegie	Bengal Engineers.
Dep. Surg.-Gen. Fairweather	Medical Staff.

[1] Recently died.

Name	Regiment or Corps in which he served
Dep. Surg.-Gen. C. A. Innes .	52nd Regiment.
Assistant-Surgeon W. W. Ireland, M.D. . . .	Bengal Horse Artillery.
Surg.-Major W. Mactier, M.D.	Indian Medical Staff.
Deputy-Surg. Gen. J. Corbyn	,, ,,
James Parker, Esq., C.E. .	Attached to Bengal Engineers.

APPENDIX B

PART I

NAMES OF THOSE WHO WERE AWARDED THE VICTORIA CROSS 'FOR VALOUR' ON ACCOUNT OF SERVICE RENDERED AT DELHI, MAY TO SEPTEMBER 23, 1857.

Date.

May 11. *Captain George Forrest* and *Captain W. Raynor* of the Bengal Veterinary Establishment and *John Buckley* of the Ordnance Department gallantly defended the Delhi magazine against the rebels on May 11, 1857, receiving the V.C.

June 8. *Colour-Sergeant C. Coghlan* of the 75th Foot removed a wounded comrade from a serai occupied by the enemy, again distinguishing himself on July 18.

,, *Lieut. A. S. Jones* of the 9th Lancers captured a gun and with Colonel Yule's assistance turned it on the enemy. *Sergeant H. Hartigan* of the same regiment carried off a wounded comrade at the same battle, and again distinguished himself at Agra on October 10.

June 12. *Lieut. T. Cadell* of the 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers saved the life of a wounded bugler under a severe fire near the flagstaff picquet, and again in the afternoon brought in a wounded soldier of the 75th Regiment near Metcalfe's House under heavy fire.

Date.	
June 23.	*Private John McGovern* of the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers carried into camp a wounded comrade under a heavy fire.
,,	*Colour-Sergeant S. Garvin* of the 60th Rifles, frequently commended for gallant conduct, led, on June 23, a small party under heavy fire to the 'Sammy house' and dislodged the enemy who had occupied it.
July 9.	*Private J. Thompson* of the 60th Rifles saved the life of Captain Wilton who was surrounded by fanatics. He also performed other services and was elected by the privates of his regiment as worthy of the V.C.
,,	*Private S. Turner* of the same regiment during the night of the same day, July 9, carried into safety a wounded officer himself being wounded.
,,	*Colonel Henry Tombs* came to the rescue of *Lieut. James Hills*, both of the Bengal Artillery, and each of them received the V.C. for conspicuous acts of valour (see page 107 above).
July 18.	*Lieut. R. Wadeson* of the 75th Foot saved the life of a soldier who was attacked in the Sabzi Mandi, and afterwards on the same day removed another wounded soldier from the hands of the rebels.
Aug. 15.	*Major Charles John Stanley Gough* of the Guides saved his brother, *Lieut. Hugh Henry Gough*, of Hodson's Horse, who was wounded at Rohtak. Again on August 18 and January 27 in leading a troop he displayed conspicuous valour, and finally on February 23, 1858, came to the assistance of Major O. St. George Anson. It may be mentioned here that Lieut. Hugh H. Gough captured two guns near the Alumbagh on November 12, 1857, and despite several wounds distinguished himself in battle near Lucknow on February 25, 1858, for all of which deeds he received the V.C.
Sept. 10.	*Private J. Divane* of the 60th Rifles headed a charge of Baluchis and Sikhs on the enemy's trenches, and was elected by his own regiment to receive the V.C.
Sept. 11.	*Private P. Green* of the 75th Foot rescued a comrade who had fallen wounded near the Koodsia bagh.

Date.

Sept. 14. *Lieutenants D. C. Home* and *Philip Salkeld* of the Bengal Engineers performed the desperate feat of blowing in the Kashmir Gate in broad daylight, a service which cost them their lives. *Bugler Hawthorne* of the 52nd Regiment not only gave the signal but bound up Salkeld's wounds under a heavy fire.

,, During the assault *Lieut. A. S. Heathcote* of the 60th Rifles volunteered for every service of danger although he had been wounded, and the officers of his regiment elected him as deserving of the V.C.

,, *Lance-Corporal H. Smith* of the 52nd Regiment carried into safety a wounded comrade in the streets.

,, *Colour-Sergt. G. Waller* of the 60th Rifles charged and captured the enemy's guns near the Kabul Gate, and was similarly elected by the non-commissioned officers of his regiment.

,, *Surgeon H. T. Reade* of the 61st Foot not only attended to the wounded in the streets, but led a small party against the rebels who were firing at them from the roofs. Later on he spiked one of the enemy's guns.

, *Sergeant J. McGuire* and *Drummer M. Ryan* of the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers rushed into the burning mass when three boxes of ammunition were ignited, and threw them over the parapet into the water, saving many lives at the risk of their own.

,, *Captain R. H. Shebbeare*, at the head of the Guides, twice charged a position, tried to rally his force after terrible losses, and then, wounded as he was, conducted the rearguard of the retreat across the canal.

Sept. 16. *Captain S. A. Renny*, Bengal Horse Artillery, and *Lieut. E. T. Thackeray*, Bengal Engineers, coolly under heavy fire extinguished the flames in the Delhi magazine, the roof of which was thatched, flinging shells with lighted fuses into the rebels' ranks and brushing out the advancing flames.

Sept. 18. *Ensign E. A. L. Phillipps* of the Bengal Army captured the water bastion on September 14, and further distinguished himself during the street fighting, being killed on September 18, but winning the posthumous honour of V.C.

PART II

NAMES OF THOSE WHO WON THE VICTORIA CROSS DURING THE MARCH OF THE DELHI COLUMN TO CAWNPORE AND LUCKNOW.

Date.

Sept. 28. *Lieut. R. Blair*, 2nd Dragoon Guards, being ordered to bring in a deserted ammunition waggon was attacked at Bulandshahr by a strong force of whom he killed four, and although severely wounded he brought back his party without losing one of them.

,, *Privates J. R. Roberts* and *P. Donohoe* and *Corporal Kells* of the 9th Lancers all won the V.C. at the same battle, each of them assisting an officer or comrade who had fallen and saving him from the enemy under heavy fire.

,, *Sergeant B. Diamond* and *Gunner Fitzgerald* together worked their gun (Horse Artillery) when every other man in the troop was killed or wounded, and kept the enemy at bay.

,, *Captain the Hon. Augustus H. Anson* of the 84th Foot, although suffering from a wound received at Delhi, frustrated the enemy's attempt to shut up the 9th Lancers in a serai by a single-handed attack. His horse carried him away through the midst of the enemy. He again distinguished himself on November 16, 1857, at the assault on the Secundrabagh.

Oct. 10. *Captain Dighton Macnaghten Probyn* of the Punjab Cavalry constantly distinguished himself at Delhi, and at the battle at Agra, when he was separated from his men, he cut down several of the enemy, captured a standard, and, in the words of General Hope Grant, 'these are only a few of the gallant deeds of this brave young officer.'

,, On the same day *Private T. Freeman* of the 9th Lancers assisted Lieut. Jones who had been shot, and defended him against many rebels.

Nov. 14. *Lieut. John Watson* of the 1st Punjab Cavalry received several wounds in a personal encounter with a rissaldar of rebel cavalry, and maintained

Date.

the reputation for valour which he had established at Delhi.

Jan. 2, 1858. *Lieut. Frederick S. Roberts* followed up the enemy at Khudaganj and took possession of a standard. On the same day he rescued a trooper and cut down his opponent.

PART III

Other Recipients of the Victoria Cross, won during Operations described in these Memoirs.

During the second relief of Lucknow in November 1857 and the capture of that city in March 1858 many officers and men, besides *Lieut. H. H. Gough,* mentioned above, received the bronze cross. From the list, which does not include the deeds of valour performed by the Lucknow garrison, the following are selected.

The Navy was honoured by the bestowal of the V.C. on :

Seaman E. Robinson,
Lieut. Nowell Salmon,
Boatswain's mate J. Harrison,
Lieut. J. Young,
Captain W. Hall,

for valorous deeds performed at the Shah Nujeef. *Lieut. T. B. Hackett* and *Private G. Monger* of the 23rd Foot, *Lieut. F. E. H. Farquharson,* 42nd Foot, *Lieut. A. K. Ffrench* and four men of the 53rd Foot, *Lance-Corporal Sinnot* (elected by his comrades) and another of the 84th Foot, *Major John Christopher Guise* (elected by his brother officers), *Sergt. Hill* and another of the 90th Foot, *Captain W. G. Drummond Stewart* of the 93rd, *Lieut. McBen* and four men of the same regiment, *Captain H. Wilmot* and two men of Prince Consort's Own Rifle Brigade: these represented the Queen's Infantry regiments ; while *Lieut. H. E. Harrington* and four gunners of the Bengal Artillery were elected by their troops or batteries of Bengal Artillery as recipients of the V.C. In the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers, besides *Lieut. T. Adair Butler,* whose deed of valour has already been mentioned in this volume, *Lieut. F. D. M. Brown* won the V.C. Of the Native Infantry, *Lieut. F. R. Aikman* and *Lieut. R. H. M. Aitken,* the latter rewarded for a whole series

of gallant acts, were amongst those who earned the distinction during the operations of which an account has been given. At Rooya in April 1858 (see page 208 above) *Captain Cafe* of the 56th Bengal Native Infantry, and *Thompson, Simpson* and *Davis*, of the 42nd Foot, won the V.C.; and at Bareilly in the following month *Colour-Sergt. W. Gardner*, who was shot down while saving the life of Colonel Cameron, received the same distinction.

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